

133 refer to one or more saline barrancas about the western base of the
same semirange, probably in Arroyo Mariana.

312 In brief, Arroyo Carrizal, Tinaja Anita, and Pozo Escalante are the
only permanent waters, and Pozo Hardy, Barranca Salina, and Tinaja
Trinchera the only subpermanent waters actually known to Caus-
casians in all Seriland, though it seems probable that permanent
water may exist at Aguaje Parilla and in Arroyo Mariana, and imper-
manent supplies near Bahia Ejence. There may be one or two
additional places of practically permanent water in smaller quantity,
and a few other places in which saline water might be found either at
the surface or by slight excavation, and which may be approximately
located by inspection of the map under guidance of the principles set
forth in the preceding paragraphs; but this would seem to be the limit
of trustworthy water supply. During the humid seasons the waters
are naturally multiplied, yet it is improbable that any of the arroyos
except Carrizal and Agua Dulce and a few minor gulches along the
more precipitous shores shed water into the gulf save at times of
extraordinary local flood.¹

133 The geologic structure of the Sonoran province is complex and not
well understood. So far as the meager observations indicate, the basal
rocks are granites, frequently massive and sometimes schistose, some-
times intersected by veins of quartz, etc. The granitic mass is upthrust
to form the nuclei of Sierra Madre and other considerable ranges; it
also approaches the surface over large areas of *plains*. Resting uncon-
formably on the granites lie heavy deposits of shales and limestones,
commonly more or less metamorphosed; these rocks outcrop on the
slopes of most of the main ranges and form the entire visible mass
of some of the lower sierras and buttes, while they, too, sometimes
approach the surface of the sheetflood-carved plain. The rocks, both
calcareous and argillaceous, combine the characters of the vast Mesozoic
limestone deposits of eastern Mexico and the immense shale accumula-
tions of corresponding age in California, and hence probably represent
the later half of the Mesozoic. This is the only sedimentary series
recognized in the province. Both the granites and the sedimentary
beds are occasionally overlain by volcanic deposits, chiefly in the form
of much-eroded lava-sheets and associated tuff-beds, which sometimes
form considerable ranges and buttes (notably Sierra Kankak, of
Isla Tiburón); these remnantal volcanic deposits are probably late
Mesozoic or early Tertiary. Newer volcanics occur locally, forming
mounds, as about Agua Nueva (40 miles northwest of Hermosillo), or
even conules apparently filling barrancas of modern aspect, as in the
vicinity of Bacachitto,² or rising into cinder cones surrounded by

113 ¹The physiographer features of the Sonoran province in general are treated in greater detail in a
paper on Sheetflood Regions, Bull. Geol. Soc. Am., vol. VII, 1897, pp. 97-112, and in a paper on Popu-
gucita, Nat. Geog. Mag., vol. IX, 1896, pp. 368-371; while certain local features are described in a paper
on Seriland, prepared jointly with Willard D. Johnson, Nat. Geog. Mag., vol. VII, 1894, pp. 113-125. The
approximate profiles from water of Seriland is estimated on p. 118.

²Noted by Willard D. Johnson.

137 in the driest areas. Nearly all of the plants have roots of exceptional length, and are protected from evaporation by a glazed epidermis and from animal enemies by thorns or by offensive odors and flavors; while most of the trees and shrubs are practically leafless except during the humid seasons. Grasses are not characteristic, and there is no sward, even in oases; but certain grasses grow in the shadow of the arborescent tufts and in the fields of the farmer ants, or spring up in scattered blades over the moister portions of the surface. The arborescent vegetation represents two characteristic types, viz, (1) trees and shrubs allied to those of humid lands, but modified to fit arid conditions; and (2) distinctive forms, evidently born of desert conditions and not adapted to a humid habitat, this type comprising the cacti and related forms, as well as forms apparently intermediate between the cacti and normal arborescent type. The various plants of the district, including those of the distinctive types, are communal or commensal, both among themselves and with animals, to a remarkable degree; for their common strife against the hard physical environment has forced them into cooperation for mutual support. The tufts or clusters in which the vegetation is arranged express the solidarity of life in the province; commonly each cluster is a vital colony, made up of plants of various genera and orders, and forming a home for animal life also of different genera and orders; and, although measurably inimical, these various organisms are so far interdependent that none could survive without the cooperation of the others.¹

In Seriland proper, as in other parts of the Sonoran province, a prevailing tree is the mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*); on the alluvial fan of Rio Sonora it grows in remarkable luxuriance, forming (with a few other trees) a practically continuous forest 20 to 40 feet in height, the gnarled trunks sometimes reaching a diameter of 2 or 3 feet; over the Rio Bacuache fan and much of the remaining plain surface it forms the dominant tree in the scattered vital colonies; and here and there it pushes well into the canyon gorges. The roots of the mesquite are of great length, and are said to penetrate to water-bearing strata at depths of 50 to 75 feet; its fruit consists of small hard beans embedded in slender woody pods. Associated with the mesquite in most stations are the still more scrappy and thorny cat-claw (*Acacia greggii*) and ironwood (*Oxya tenata*), both also yielding woody beans in limited quantity. Similarly associated, especially in the drier tracts, and characteristically abundant over the plains portions of Isla Tiburón, are the palo verde (*Parkinsonia torreyana*, etc.), forming scrappy, wide-branching, green-bark trees 5 to 15 feet high, and commonly 3 to 10 inches in diameter of trunk. Over the mountain sides, especially of Sierra Seri and Sierra Kunkaak, grow sparsely the only straight-trunk trees of the region, rooted in the rocks to the average number of a few acres to the square

[13] ¹The vital characteristics of the region have been described in some detail in *The Beginning of Agriculture*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. viii, 1895, pp. 255-270; *The Beginning of Domestication*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. x, 1897, pp. 255-260; and *Exposition to Civilization*, *Science*, vol. vi, 1895, pp. 455-465.

SUMMARY HISTORY

There is some doubt as to who was the first among the Caucasian explorers of the Western Hemisphere to set eyes on the Seri Indians. Nuño de Guzman, rival of Cortés and invader of Jalisco and Sinaloa, must have approached the southern boundary of Seri territory about 1530, though there is no record of contact with these tribesmen. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, one of Cortés' captains, coasted along southern Sonora in 1533 to a point considerably beyond Rio Yaqui, where he was massacred on his return, and hence left no record of more northerly natives.¹ Both of these pioneers must accordingly be eliminated from the list of probable discoverers of the Seri.

In the course of their marvelous transcontinental journey, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions also approached Seriland, and apparently skirted its borders shortly before meeting Captain Diego de Alcaraz, of Guzman's party; this was in April, 1536, according to Baudelier.² Vaca wrote: "On the coast is no maize: the inhabitants eat the powder of rush and of straw, and fish that is caught in the sea from rafts, not having canoes. With grass and straw the women cover their nudity. They are a timid and dejected people."³ He added half a dozen ambiguous sentences, of which only a part, apparently, refer to the "timid and dejected people"; half of these describe a poison used by them "so deadly that if the leaves be bruised and steeped in some neighboring water, the deer and other animals drinking it soon burst". The people were identified as Seri (Cari) by Buckingham Smith and General Stone,⁴ and the identification may be considered as strongly probable, provided the Topoka be classed with the Seri.

The next Caucasians to approach Seriland appear to have been the two Spanish monks, Fray Pedro Nadal and Fray Juan de la Asuncion, who, in 1538, sought to retrace Vaca's route, and traveled northward to a river somewhat doubtfully identified as the Gila;⁵ but the meager accounts of this journey contain no clear reference to the Seri Indians.

On March 7-19, 1539, the Italian friar Marcos de Niza left San Miguel de Culiacan under instructions from the Viceroy, Don Antonio

¹ Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 43-44.

² *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States (Hornumway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition)*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American series, V, 1899, p. 44.

³ Relation of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith, *New York*, 1871, p. 173.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁵ U. Baudelier, *Magazine of Western History*, IV, 1898, p. 600.

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*175 de Mendosa, to explore the territory traversed by Vaca, under the guidance of the negro Estevanico, the only one of Vaca's three companions remaining in Mexico; in good time he reached a point probably not far from the center of the present state of Sonora, whence messengers were sent coastward to return duly accompanied by certain "very poor" Indians wearing pearl-oyster (?) ornaments, who were reputed to inhabit a large island (almost certainly Tiburon) reached from the mainland by means of balsas. Bandelier identified these coastwise Indians with the Guayma tribe, a supposed branch of the Seri;¹ but if the "large island" were Tiburon, it would seem more probable that the Indians belonged to the tribe now known as Seri, while both description and location suggest the Tepoka. This record is of questionable weight, partly by reason of the doubtful identification of the Indians, and partly because the friar's itinerary was found to be misleading by his immediate successors, because of the fact that portions of his narrative were based on hearsay; though it is just to note that Bandelier, after critical study, deemed the record about as trustworthy as others of the time, and to add that the disparagement of Niza's discoveries by his followers was in accord with the fashion of the day—indeed it was little more severe relatively than the criticism of the strikingly trustworthy Ulloa by his first follower, Alarcon.

*175 On July 8-19, 1539, according to the collection of Ramusio, three vessels sent out by Cortés to discover unknown lands—"Of Which Fleet was Captaine the right worshipfull knight Francis de Vilca borne in the Citie of Merida"—sailed from Acapulco.² Skirting the mainland northward, they explored Mar de Cortés, or Gulf of California; and on September 24 (as fixed by interpolation from Ulloa's excellent itinerary) they descried and described the features of the coast in such fashion as to locate their vessels (one was already lost) off the southern point of Tiburon, and in sight of the islands of San Esteban and San Lorenzo, as well as locally prominent points on the mainland of Lower California. Here they "discerned the countrey to be plaine, and certayne mountaines, and it seemed that a certayne gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine" (p. 322). Judging from other geographic details, this "gut of water" was certainly the tide-torn gateway now named Boca Inferno; while the next day's sailing (it is noteworthy that this was "north" instead of northward as usual) carried them by "a circuit or bay of 6 leagues into the land with many oques or creeks", evidently Bahía Tepopa with the northern end of the turbulent strait El Infernillo. The record shows clearly that Ulloa discovered Tiburon, but failed (quite naturally, in view of the route pursued and the peculiar configuration at both extremities of the strait) to perceive its insular character. No mention is made of inhabitants or habitations on this land-mass, though both are described on the

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¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 601-602; *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American series, v, p. 118.² *The Voyages of the English Nation to America*, collected by Richard Hakluyt and edited by Edward Goldsmith, 1890, vol. iii, p. 317.

neighboring island of Angel de la Guarda in terms that would be applicable to the Seri. 175

On Monday, February 23, 1540, according to Winship,¹ Captain-General Francisco Vazquez Coronado set out on his ambitious and memorable expedition to the Seven Cities of Cibola. His course lay from Compostela along the coast of Culiacan, and thence northward through what is now Sinaloa and Sonora. On May 9-20, 1540, Hernando de Alarcon set sail on the ancillary expedition by sea; he followed the coast from Acapulco to Colorado river, and although he undoubtedly saw and was the first to name Tiburon,² and claimed to have "discovered other very good haunts for the ships whereof Capitaine Francis de Villa was General, for the Marquesse de Valle neither saw nor found them",³ he made no specific record of any of the features of Seriland or of contact with the Seri Indians. Meantime Coronado's forces were divided, a considerable part of the army falling behind the leader; and some time during the early summer the belated army, under Don Tristan de Arellano, founded the town of San Hieronimo de los Corazones, which in the following year (1541) was transferred to a place in Señora (Sonora) not now identifiable. From Corazones Don Rodrigo Maldonado went down to the seacoast to seek the ships, and brought back with him "an Indian so large and tall that the best man in the army reached only to his chest", with reports of still taller Indians along the coast.⁴ It is impossible to locate Maldonado's route with close accuracy, but in view of geographic and other conditions it is evident (as recently shown by Hodge⁵) that he must have descended Rio Sonora and approached or reached the coast over the broad delta-plain of that stream south of Sierra Seri, and thus within Seri territory. The reported gigantic stature practically identifies the Indians visited by him with the Seri, since no other gigantic tribes were consistently reported by explorers of western North America, and since the 6-foot Seri warriors, with their frequent Saals of greater stature, are in fact gigantic in comparison with the average Spanish soldiery of earlier centuries. There are indications that the fame of these giants of the Southern sea spread to Europe and filtered slowly throughout the intellectual world, and that the fancy-clothed colossi grew with their travels, after the manner of their kind—indeed, there is no slender reason for opining that these half-mythical islanders were the real originals of Jonathan Swift's Brobdingnagians,⁶ despite his location of their fabled land a

¹The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1900, p. 262.

²As a harbor or anchorage marked "del Tiburon" on the map of "Domingo del Castillo, Piloto", drawn in 1541, and reproduced in *Historia de Nueva España, escrita por su esclarecido Comendador Hernán Cortés, aumentada con otras descubiertas, y notas, por el ilustrissimo Señor Don Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, Arzobispo de Mexico*, Mexico, 1770, p. 226.

³The Voyages of the English Nation to America, vol. iv, p. 6.

⁴Winship, op. cit., p. 482.

⁵Coronado's March to Quivira, in J. V. Brower, *Hazards of Exploration in the Basin of the Mississippi*, vol. iii, 1900, p. 28.

⁶Cf. The History of Oregon, California, and the other Territories on the Northwest Coast of North America, by Robert Greenhow, 1863, p. 97; History of California, by Theodore H. Hittell, 1880, vol. 1, p. 149.

subsequent episode in their history or century in time. The description of the effect of the poison is especially suggestive of the Seri; as pointed out on a later page, the Seri arrow-venom is magical in motive, but actually consists of decomposing and ptomaine-filled organic matter, so that it is sometimes septic in fact, while the arrow-poison of the neighboring Opatas, Jova, and other Piman tribes was (so far as can be ascertained) vegetal; and these accounts seem to attest septic poisoning rather than the effects of any known vegetal toxic.¹

Such (assuming the validity of the several identifications) are the earliest records concerning the truculent tribesmen and the desolate district known centuries later as the Seri and Seriland.

About 1545 began the Dark Ages in the history of northwestern Mexico; the excursion of Gorman, and the journeys of Cabrera de Vaca and Friar Marcos and of Coronado himself, died out of the memory of the solitary adventurers and scattering settlers who slowly infused Spanish culture and a strain of Caucasian blood into the Sonoran province; even the route taken by Coronado's imposing cavalcade was lost for centuries, to be retraced only during the present generation, largely through the determinations of Simpson, Bandelier, Winship, and Hodge.² It is true that Don Francisco de Ibarra penetrated the territory in 1563, and remained until rumors of gold in other districts drew him elsewhere; it is also true that Captain Diego Martinez de Huelva pushed into the province in 1584, and entered on a career of subjugation, waging persistent war with the Yaqui, which resulted in the acquisition of the territory of Sonora by treaty April 15, 1610;³ yet few records of exploration or settlement were written before the advent of the Jesuit missionaries, toward the end of the seventeenth century.

Still more astounding was the eclipse of knowledge of the gulf. Despite Ulloa's survey of the entire coast, recorded in an itinerary so detailed that every day's sailing may readily be retraced, and despite Alarcon's repetition of the surveys and extension of the discoveries far up Rio Colorado (where his work was verified by that of Melchior Diaz), a mythic cartography arose to shadow knowledge and delude exploration for a century and a half; for "upon the authority of a Spanish chart, found accidentally by the Dutch, and of the authenticity of which there never were, or indeed could be, any proofs obtained, an opinion prevailed that California was an island, and the contrary assertion was treated even by the ablest geographers as a vulgar error";⁴ and a mythic strait formed by cartographic extension of the Gulf of California indefinitely northward haunted the maps of the seventeenth century. This error was adopted by various geographers, including Fredericus

¹ It should be noted that Mr. F. W. Hodge, whose large acquaintance with the Southwest and the literature gives his opinion great weight, is inclined to class the Indians as Opatas.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 26-72.

³ *Sonora Histórica y Descriptiva*, por F. T. Nevada, 1883, p. 8.

⁴ *A Natural and Civil History of California*, translated from the original Spanish of Miguel Vassago, London, 1794, vol. 1, preface.

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475 de Witt in 1603, Peter van der Aa in 1600, and even Herman Moll as late as 1708; but it was consistently rejected by Guillaume Delisle and other French geographers. The myth was finally punctured by Padre Kino in 1701; though even he and all his erudite co-evangelists were apparently unaware that his observations only verified those of Ulloa, Alarcon, and Diaz.

775 During the stagnant sesquicentury 1543-1603 there was little record of the Seri Indians, though that little indicates recognition of their leading characteristics and their insular habitat. Writing especially of the Yaqui before 1643, Padre Andrés Perez de Ribas declared (freely translated):

There is information of a great people of another nation called Horis; they are exclusively savage, without towns, without houses, without fields. They have neither rivers nor streams, and drink from a few lagoons and waterholes. They subsist by the chase, but at harvest time they obtain corn by bartering salt extracted from the sea and deerskins with other nations. Those nearest to the sea also subsist on fish; and it is said that there is, in the same sea, an island on which others of the same nation live. Their language is exceedingly difficult.

The same author mentions cannibalism among the aborigines of northwestern Mexico, saying:

The vice of those called anthropophagi, who eat human flesh, introduced by the devil, enemy of the human genus, among nearly all these nations during their heathenism, is more or less common. In the Acaxee and mountains this inhuman vice is customary as eating of flesh obtained by the chase; it is of daily occurrence among them; just as they sally in chase of a deer, they go out over mountains and fields in search of enemies to cut in pieces and eat roasted or boiled.

114 There is nothing to indicate that the anthropophagy was confined to, or even extended to, the Seri—a fact of interest in connection with later opinion. Ribas' reference to an island inhabited by the Horis (Seri) indicates that the occupancy of Tiburón was fully recognized by the native tribes of the region.

Throughout the seventeenth century the western coast of Gulf of California, and in lesser degree the eastern coast also, became famous for pearl oysters, and expeditions were sent out and fisheries established at different times. The earliest of these expeditions was that of Captain Juan Iturbi in 1615; he sailed well up the gulf, reaching latitude 30° according to his reckoning (though the accounts imply between lines that he turned back at the Salsipuedes), collecting many pearls along the western coast "so large and clear that for one only he paid, as the King's fifth, 900 crowns";¹ and on his return he carried the fame of the Californian pearls to Ciudad Mexico, whence it resounded to Madrid and reverberated through all Europe. One of the more noteworthy

[113] ¹ *Historia de los Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe entre Gentos las mas Barbaras y Fieras del Nuevo Orbe*, Madrid, 1623, p. 226. The "Horis" are identified as Seri by Baudouin (*Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, in *Papers Arch. Inst. Am., American series*, 10, 1900, p. 74).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

³ Young, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 146.

pearl-gathering expeditions was that of Admiral Pedro Portel de Casanata, which covered several years; he "took a very careful survey of the eastern coast of the gulf" in 1648, but was deterred from establishing a garrison by "the dryness and sterility of the country";¹ yet neither this voyage nor any of the others appears to have resulted in any considerable rectification of the maps, or in valuable records relating to the aboriginal inhabitants. Various records indicate, however, that both pearl fishers by sea and gold seekers by land must have met the warlike Seri—and sometimes survived to enrich the growing lore concerning the tribe, and to establish the existence of their island stronghold.

New light dawned on Sonoran history with the extension of evangelization by the Order of Jesuits into that territory under the pilotage of Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino (Kaino, Kuino, Kuhn, Kihna, Quino, Chino, etc.), who sailed from Chacala, March 18, 1683,² for California, with the expedition of Admiral Isidro Otondo y Antillon. This expedition failing, the padre returned to the mainland in 1686, and during the same year obtained authority and means for establishing missions in Sonora, of which one was to be "founded among the Seris of the gulf coast".³ Although the record of the padre's movements is hardly complete, it would appear that several years elapsed before he actually approached, and also (contrary to the opinion of two centuries) that he never saw, the real Seri habitat. According to the anonymous author of "Apostolicas Afanes" (identified by modern historians as Padre José Ortega), Padre Kino made many journeys over the inhospitable wastes now known as Papagueria during the years 1686-1701,⁴ and must have seen nearly the whole of the northern and eastern portions of the territory; but only a single journey led him toward Seriland. In February, 1694, he, with Padre Marcos Antonio Kappus, Ensign Juan Mateo Mange (chronicler of this expedition), and Captain Aguerra, set out for the coast; and Mange's itinerary is so circumstantial as to locate their route and every stopping place, with a possible error not exceeding 5 miles in any case.

According to Mange's itinerary, the explorers left Santa Magdalena de Bequibava, on the banks of Rio San Ignacio or Santa Magdalena, February 9, traveling northwestward down the valley of that river (for the most part) 12 leagues to San Miguel del Buena; the original party having been enlarged at Santa Magdalena by the addition of Nicolas Castrijo and Antonio Mesquita, with two Indians for guides. On February 10 they traveled from Buena 5 leagues southward (evidently in the valley of Rio San Ignacio, which is here 5 to 25 miles in width), to sleep at the watering place of Oacua, or San Bartolome. The

¹Vengas, *A General and Civil History of California*, vol. 1, p. 190.

²Vengas, *Historia de la California*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1797, p. 239.

³The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. 27 (History of the North Mexican States, vol. 1, 1833-1835), 1890, p. 395.

⁴Apostolicas Afanes de la Compañia de Jesus, escritas por un Padre de la misma Sagrada Religión de su Provincia de Mexico; Barcelona, 1794, p. 260 et seq.

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1175 next day they journeyed westward along the wash (of San Ignacio), stopping, as was their custom, to baptize the sick and others, and after covering 10 leagues camped at a rancho. On February 12 they continued westward over mesquite-covered plains for 4 leagues, and then turned northwestward for 3 leagues along the San Ignacio to Caborca, where they spent the remainder of the day in evangelical work. Next morning, after saying mass, they again proceeded westward "por la vega del río abajo" (down the bank of the river); at 2 leagues distance they arrived at the place at which the river "sinks", but continued westward along the sand-wash 8 leagues farther, passing the night at a rancho of turbid water. On February 14 they again celebrated mass, and then proceeded westward over the plains ("prosiguiendo nosotros al Poniente por llano"); at 4 leagues they reached a ranchería which was dubbed San Valentín (still persisting as a Papago temporal; the "Bisanig" of various maps), watered from a well in the river bed; proceeding westward ("prosiguiendo al Poniente") 6 leagues farther, they ascended a sierra trending from south to north ("trasmontaña una sierra que sita de Sur á Norte") of which they named the principal peak Nazareno, in a dry and sterile barranca in which they afterward slept; from this sierra they saw "the Gulf of California, and, on the farther coast, four mountains of that territory, which we named Los Cuatro Santos, Evangelistas, and toward the northwest an islet with three cerros named Las Tres Marias, and in the southwest the Isla de Seris, to which they retreat when pursued by soldiers for their robberies, which we call San Agustín and others Tibarón."¹ The record continues:

On the fifteenth, after saying mass, we continued our route to the west by a dry and stony ravine which there is between the mountains, and at 3 leagues we met some Indians taking water from a small well in earthen jars, who, on seeing us, ran away, flying from fear; but at two gunshot we overtook them, treated them kindly, and brought them back to the well that they might assist in watering the horses, giving them all the water necessary, for the reason that they had not drunk the day before. For this reason we called this place Paraje de las Ollas. They were naked people, and only covered their private parts with small pieces of bare skin; and one of them was so aged that by his looks he must have been about 120 years old. We continued to the west over barren plains, arid and without pasture, a country as sandy as a sun-bench, until we reached the sand-banks, where the horses had great difficulty; and after another 7 leagues Father Kappus and the other people camped without water, and with only pasture of salt grass; but Padre Kino and I (Maaga), with guides, and the governor of Los Dolores (Aguerra), in order to be furnished, went west 3 leagues farther, crossing the bed of Río San Ignacio; we arrived at the banks of an arm of the sea to which, in the sixty years that the province of Sonora had been populated, no one had come, and we were the first who had the great privilege of seeing the Island of the Seris and that of Tres Marias, as well as the mountains of Cuatro Evangelistas, in California, on the other side of the gulf, the width of which, according to the measuring instruments at this position of 20° (actually about 20° 30'), is some 30 leagues. We returned to the bed of the river (San Ignacio), where we found a well nearly dry; we drew from it water for the horses, who had had nothing to drink, and took some ourselves, although it was turbid, muddy, and disagreeable.

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¹ Translated somewhat freely from Resumen de Noticias, in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, cuarta serie, tomo 5, 1896, pp. 226-228.

Now, this itinerary recounts, in definite and unmistakable terms, the incidents and localities of a journey down the valley of Rio San Ignacio (also called Santa Magdalena, Altar, Asuncion, Pitiquito, Caborca, etc., in different parts of its course), from the present city of Santa Magdalena by the present town of Caborca to the coast at a point almost directly west of both Caborca and Santa Magdalena. Moreover, Kino's map of 1702¹ locates "Nazareno" on this river, and permits identification of the sierra with Dewey's "three conspicuous peaks" placed directly inland from the lagoon at the mouth of San Ignacio river, on the Hydrographic Office charts; it also locates Caborca (miswritten "Cabotka") in approximate position. Furthermore, it would have been physically impossible for the rather heavily outfitted Kino party, with carriages and churchly equipage, to traverse the untrodden and forbidding wastes from Caborca to even the nearest part of Seriland within the period of two days and a fraction, and the distance of 29 leagues (some 74 miles), detailed in the itinerary. The direct way from Caborca to Tiburon would lie due southward, over sierra-ribbed and barren-ent plains never yet explored by white men, nor even traversed by Indians so far as known, for more than 100 miles in an air line; while the nearest practicable route, passing by way of Cieneguilla, Las Cruces, Pozo Noriega, Bacuchito, Sayula, Tonnen, Rancho Libertad, and Barranca Salina (or Aguaje Purilla) measures fully 200 miles, and requires at least six days for the passage with good horses and light equipage. The Kino party might, indeed, have turned southwestward at Caborca and pushed to the now abandoned landing at the anchorage below Cabo Lobos;² but the directions and distances specifically stated, and the specific identification of Rio San Ignacio at the end and at other points of the journey, all prove that this was not the route actually traveled. The terminus of the trip so clearly fixed by the itinerary is over 100 miles from the nearest point of Seriland proper; moreover, Tiburon is rendered invisible both from the coast and from Cerro Nazareno not only by distance, but by intervening sierras, notably those projecting into the Gulf to form Cabo Lobos and Punta Tepopa. It follows that Kino and Mange completely missed Seriland in their expedition to the coast, and there is nothing to indicate that they ever saw the Seri tribesmen. Their descriptions of the Indians encountered fairly fit the peaceful Papago of the interior and the timid Tepoka of the coast; and neither Mange's narrative nor other contemporary records suggest contact between the exploring party and the distinctive holders of Tiburon. The specific and repeated references in the itinerary to the island of San Agustin, or Tiburon, evidently relate to the ancient Isla de Santa

¹ Tabula Californiae, anno 1702 (Via terrestris in Californiam comperta et detecta per R. Patrum Bonaventurae Franc. Chino & S. I. Germanorum. Adnotata novis Missionibus ejusdem Societatis ab anno 1690 ad annum 1701), in Stocklein, Der Neue Welt-Bott, Augsburg und Leipzig, 1728.

² Unofficially mapped and established (on paper) as the "Fuerte y Villa de la Libertad" in 1681 (Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, 1892, x, p. 203 et seq.), and actually maintained from 1678 to 1894 as the port of Libertad (not the abandoned Rancho Libertad on the border of Seriland), or Surra, according to Nave (Anales Históricos y Descriptivos, pp. 140-200).

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x175 Inca, the modern Isla Angel de la Guarda,¹ one of the most prominent geographic features visible either from Cerro Nazareno or from the adjacent coast. There is no reason to infer that Kino or any of his party ever detected their error in identification of geographic features which must have been conspicuous in the lore of the aborigines and settlers of Sonora; indeed, the error well attests the prominence of the Seri and their habitat in the local thought of the time.²

x175 An effect of the Jesuit invasion was to give record to episodes growing out of alien contact with the Seri. One of the earliest of these records recounts nocturnal raids by the "Seri Salineros" for robbery and murder in the pueblos of Tuape, Ocuirpe, and Magdalena (de Tepoca).³ In January, 1700, Sergeant Juan Bautista de Escalante set out with fifteen soldiers to this mission of Santa Magdalena de Tepoca on an expedition of protection and reprisal; and here he learned that the "Seri Salineros" had killed with arrows three persons. Taking their trail, he reached Nuestra Señora del Populo only to find that ten families of converts had deserted to steal cattle, whereupon he started in search of them; he overtook them 20 leagues away, and, despite armed resistance on their part, arrested and whipped them and returned them to the pueblo. Among the captives were two "Seri Salineros" concerned in the murders at Tepoca, and three others guilty of similar outrages at the Pueblo de los Angeles de Pimas Coccomacagias; these he executed as a warning to the others, after taking their depositions and confessions, and after they were shrived by Padre Adano Gilo (or Adan Gilg), the priest of Populo. This duty performed, he resumed the trail of the Seri, accompanied by the padre; and, approaching the sea, he found a port, as well as an island to which most of the Seri had escaped in balsas, leaving eight of their number, who were arrested and turned over to the priest.⁴

This is the first record of actual invasion of Seriland by Caucasians. According to Bancroft, it "may be deemed the beginning of the Seri wars which so long desolated the province".⁵

The next noteworthy episode occurred when Sergeant Escalante, who had returned to Tuape and Santa Magdalena (de Tepoca), again set out for the coast on February 28, 1700, taking a new route (probably down Rio Bacnache). He traveled 30 leagues, passing four watering places, and on March 6 arrived at the Paraje de Aguas Frias (probably

[113] ¹ Identified by Alexandre de Humboldt in his *Carte Générale du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, of 1804 (in *Atlas Géographique et Physique*, Paris, 1811). So late as 1840 the old name was sometimes retained, e. g., on Robert Gray's map accompanying his *History of California and Oregon*.

² In one of the last letters from his pen, dated November 28, 1889, the late Dr. Elliott Coues wrote, "I find you tracing Kino and Monge in 1684 precisely as I had them, and I make no doubt of the substantial accuracy of your typewritten MS. I except your position that the large island they sighted and named San Agustín was not Tibouron, but Angel de la Guarda Isl."

[113] ³ A mission founded in 1699 by Padre Melchior Bartolomeo (*Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España, que está sufriendo el P. Francisco Javier Alegre*, 1862, tomo III, p. 117), of which the location has long been lost.

⁴ *Resumen de Noticias*, op. cit., tomo I, p. 721.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 775 (the year is misprinted 1800 on this page and in the index).

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7175 The specific references to the Seri and their insular habitat by Ribes, by Kino and his chronicler, and by the various recorders of Escalante's expeditions, establish the extent of the lore concerning people and place, even before the end of the seventeenth century. This lore found measurable expression in maps prepared in Europe, even by those cartographers who purposely or otherwise ignored the surveys of Ulloa and Alarcón. In his "newest and most accurate" map of America, 1662, Fredericus de Witt depicted the Gulf of California ("Mare Ver mio olim Mare Arbrum") as extending northward to connect with the mythical Strait of Anian ("Fretum Aniani"), yet he located Rio Colorado ("R. de Tecon") and Rio Gila ("R. de Coral") approximately, placing the largest island in the gulf, named "I. Gigante", just off their (common) embouchure;¹ and an anonymous map of the Pacific ocean, apparently by the same author and of closely corresponding date, is essentially similar.² The map of the northern part of America by Peter van der Aa, about 1690, is also similar, though on smaller scale;³ and the same may be said of that cartographer's new map of America, issued about the same time, in which the island is designated "I. de Gigante".⁴ A somewhat later map by Van der Aa (although supposed to have been issued in 1690) is greatly improved; the "Mer de Californie" is brought to rather indefinite end a little above the mouth of Rio Colorado ("R. de bona guia"); the "Pimases" are placed in proper position with respect to the Gila ("R. de Coral"), and the "Herises" are located a third of the way and the "Abomeens" half way down the gulf; while a greatly elongated island stretches from the one to the other off the province of "Sonora".⁵ The origin of the name "Gigante" is uncertain; it may be borrowed from a land feature. As used in some cases it apparently connotes the size of the island, while the use in other cases evidently connotes gigantic inhabitants.

Naturally, in view of the slow and imperfect diffusion of knowledge characteristic of early times, cartographers were dilatory in introducing the observations of Kino and Escalante. The map of America by Herman Moll, about 1708,⁶ represents the "Gulf of California or Red Sea", connecting the "South Sea" with the "Straits of Anian", and depicts Rio Colorado ("Ticon R.") and a composite river apparently designed to represent Rio Gila (made up of "R. Sonora", "R. Azul", and "R. Colorado"), with two other long tributaries from the south) embouching separately a little below midlength of the gulf. Somewhat above these are three islands, one of which is designated "Gigante

¹ *Fortunatus et Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini ad Maritima America, Amsterdam.* (In *American Maps, 1670-1780*, Library of U. S. Geological Survey, 18.)

² *Mer del Zet, Gigante, Mare Pacificum.* (Ibid., 178.)

³ *T. Noorder Dool van Amerika, Leyden.* (Ibid., 178.)

⁴ *Nouvelle Carte de l'Amérique, Leyden.* (Ibid., 182.)

⁵ *L'Amérique Septentrionale d'après les Nouvelles Observations, etc., Leyden.* (Ibid., 182.) This island is not named, but is undoubtedly the Santa Ysabel of several other maps—*San Angel de la Guarda* of the present.

⁶ *North America, according to ye Newest and most Exact Observations, etc., London.* (Ibid., 68.)

Isla", while "Pimeria" is located correctly with respect to Rio Gila, though too close to the sea, and "R. Sonora" is located too far southward, with a province of the same name just north of it. There is no reference to the Seri, but a locality in Lower California opposite Sonora is named "Gigante".¹ Quite similar is the map of North America drawn and engraved by R. W. Seale about 1722, though the provinces of Pimeria and Sonora are brought closer together, while the magnified Gila is named Colorado ("Timon R." also being retained).² The map of North America presented to the Duc de Bourgogne by H. Lallot about 1720 is much the same; the "Ile de Californie" is separated from the continent by "Mer Vermeille ou Mer Rouge" with four islands, of which the southernmost, "I. de Gigante", lies somewhat below the separate mouths of "R. de Tecum" and "R. de Coral", while the extravagantly magnified Gila of previous maps is partially replaced by a still more extravagant "R. del Norte", rising in a mythical lake above the fortieth parallel and falling into the gulf under the thirtieth.³ The map of Mexico and Florida by Guillaume "De Flate", published in Amsterdam by Covens and Mortier, 1722, patently begs the question as to the northern extension of "Mer de Californie" by cutting off the cartography at the critical point. "R. del Tison" is retained as a subordinate river, while the separate and greatly magnified Gila corresponds with that of the Lallot map, the upper tributary being "R. Sonora ou de Hila"; "R. di Sonora" is depicted in approximate position, with the province of the same name extending northward and "Seri" located a little above the mouth of the river. No islands are shown in the vicinity, but the name "Gigante" appears on the western coast of the gulf, about latitude 26°. The map of North America by the same author, supposed to date about 1740 though probably earlier, recalls the Van der Aa map of 1600 (f); "Mer de Californie ou Mer Vermelle" ends doubtfully about latitude 34°, where "R. de bona gua" and "R. de Coral" bound the "Campagne de bona gua", and fall separately into the gulf near its head; the "Pinnases", "Heriers", "Sonases", "Ailbineses", and "Ahomeses" are distributed thence southward along the coast to about the twenty-eighth parallel, while a nameless island stretches parallel with the coast of "Sonora" from about 28° to 32°.⁴

With one or two exceptions, these maps demonstrate the prevailing neglect or ignorance of the classic explorations along the western coast of America early in the sixteenth century; yet they introduce features representing vague knowledge of the Seri Indians and their insular habitat, undoubtedly derived (like that of Padre Kino and Sergeant Escalante anterior to their expeditions) from native sources.

¹ Delineation the continent "Le Gigante", named by Adrien Chambo toward the end of the sixteenth century (Description pour le Ministre de Marine, carte de la, 1627, tome V, p. 172), and used by Hardy in 1628 (Travels in Interior of Mexico by Hardy, 1628, 1627, and 1628, London, 1628, p. 215).

² A map of North America, with the European settlements and whatever else is remarkable in the West Indies, from the latest and best Observations. (American maps, loc. cit., 162.)

³ Amerique Septentrionale Divisee en ses Principales Parties. (1664, 166.)

⁴ Carte du Mexique et de la Floride, des Terres Anglaises et des Isles Adjacentes, etc. (1664, 166.)

⁵ L'Amerique Septentrionale . . . par G. de Flate. Amsterdam, Chez Pierre Mortier. (1662, 172.)

The island is, of course, Santa Juan, I. G., Angel de la Guarda.

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1175 The Kino map of 1703 gradually came to be recognized as trustworthy in important particulars, and brought to an end the baseless extension northward of the gulf; yet it was seriously inaccurate in details, particularly those affected by the erroneous identification of the second-largest island in the gulf with the largest. Accordingly Isla Santa Ines (the modern Isla Angel de la Guarda) is omitted from its proper position, and replaced by "I. S. August" close to the eastern coast; yet the land-mass of Tiburon is roughly defined as a peninsula bounded on the north by "Portua S. Sabina" (Bahia Tepepa) and on the south by "Bays S. Ica. Bapt." (Bahias Kunkash and Kino). Two other considerable islands are represented as dividing the width of the bay west-southwest of "I. S. August", and are named "2. Salta-Ines!"; although evidently traditional, their positions correspond roughly with those of San Esteban and San Lorenzo. The map locates the "Topokis" between Rio San Ignacio and Rio Sonora, with the "Guaimas" immediately below the latter.¹ Kino's three pier-like islands bridging the gulf were adopted in Delisle's map of America, published in Amsterdam by Jean Oivens and Corneille Mortier about 1722, in greatly reduced size, though larger islands are shown farther northward; and an ill-defined peninsula corresponding to Tiburon is retained.² The D'Anville map of 1746 embodies Kino's discoveries about the head of the gulf and retains his pier-like islands, yet not only corrects his error in omitting the second greatest island of the gulf, but perpetuates equal error in the opposite direction: "I. de S. Vicente" is made the largest of the islands and located near the western coast a little below the mouth of Rio San Ignacio, while "I. de Sta. Ines" is made second largest and is located southeast of it and near the eastern coast. The third island in size is named "Serie", while the fourth and fifth, completing the Kino trio, are called "Is. de Sal", and the mainland projection remains defined on the south by "B. de S. Juan".³ The Vaugondy map of 1750 locates the transverse trio of islands in greatly reduced size, and omits the larger islands of the gulf.⁴ The islands, etc., of the Corneus and Mortier map of 1757 correspond closely with D'Anville's map of 1746, and a nameless bay defines a peninsula in the position of Tiburon.⁵ The Pownall map of 1783 also follows that of D'Anville as far as the islands are concerned, though the position of that corresponding to the present Angel de la Guarda lies beyond the limit of the sheet; "I. de Ines" lies some distance below the mouth of "Sta. Magdalena" river, off the territory of the "Sobas" and "Serie"; "Serie I." is smaller, the two "Sal Is." are smaller still, and there is an ill-defined projection of the mainland, bounded on the south by "B. de S. Juan".⁶

While the makers of the later of these maps were engaged in perpet-

¹ Map to Stockholm, op. cit.

² Carte d'Amérique, etc. (American maps, loc. cit., 92.)

³ Amérique Supérieure, etc. par le Dr. d'Anville, Paris. (Ibid., 90 and 91.)

⁴ Amérique Supérieure, etc. par le Dr. Robert de Vaugondy, Paris. (Ibid., 91.)

⁵ L'Amérique Supérieure, etc. Amsterdam. (Ibid., 100.)

⁶ A new map of North America, with the West India Islands. . . . Last given according to the latest Surveys, and Corrected from the Original Materials of Government, Pownall, London. (Ibid., 98.)

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+175 great depth by Kino's "Pto. de Sta. Sabina" and "Bahia de San Juan Baptista", in such wise as to define a decided peninsula, while the "Seri" are located 2° farther southward and below Rio Sonora, and the "Guaymas" still farther down the coast.¹ Another illustration of the chaotic notions of the time is afforded by the Baegert map, published in 1773, and credited largely to Consag.² The sheet locates the author's routes of arrival (1751) and departure (1768), the former overland from far down the coast to the mouth of "Tegrens Hiaqui," and thence directly across "Mare Californiae", via "Tiburon" (lying just off the mouth of the river, in latitude 28°), with the usual congeries of islands, headed by "I. S. Ang. Gart" (Angel de la Guarda), in latitude 30°-31°, and the usual shore configuration above the debouchure of Rio Sonora; "Los Seri" are located in the interior between Rio Sonora and "Torrens Hiaqui", while just above the mouth of the latter lies "Guaymas M. (mission) destr. per Apostatas Seri". The Pownall map of 1786 incorporates Padre Consag's results on reduced scale, but omits the islands toward the eastern shore of the gulf.³

On the whole the cartography of a century indicates that the striking explorations of Ulloa, Alarcón, and Díaz were utterly neglected; it indicates, too, that Kino's observations were promptly adopted, but that his erroneous identification of the island seen from Nazareno occasioned confusion; yet there is nothing to indicate definite knowledge of Escalante's discoveries. Apparently the cartographic tangle began with the failure to discover the narrow strait traversing Seriland, coupled with hearsay notions of an insular Seri stronghold; it was complicated by Kino's erroneous identification of the hearsay island; and it grew into the mapping of a traditional islet about the position of Tiburon, and the extension of the mainland into a peninsula embracing the actual land-mass of that island⁴—the islet lying about the site of the modern Isla Tassac, and often appearing under the name San Agustín.⁵ Accordingly, so far as maps are concerned, Escalante's discoveries were no less completely lost than those of Ulloa.

175 The recorded history of the Seri Indians during the earlier two-thirds of the eighteenth century is largely one of zealous effort at conversion on the part of the Jesuit missionaries, who repeatedly approached the territory by both land and sea; yet the records touch also on events of exploration and on the characteristics of the tribe.

One of the earliest chroniclers was Padre Juan Maria de Sonora, who in 1699-1701 inspected many of the missions of Lower California and

¹ *Noticia de la California*, tomo 1, p. 1.

² *California*, par P. Ferdinand Baegert, S. J., et alia, in *Notitiae von der amerikanischen Halbinsel California*. . . *Geschrieben von einem Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu* (identified as Jacob Baegert by Hae, *Smithsonian Report*, 1893, p. 382); Mannheim, 1773.

³ *A New Map of the Whole Continent of America*, London. (American maps, inc. ed., 4.)

⁴ This cartography appeared occasionally up to about the middle of the nineteenth century, as illustrated by the Greenhow map accompanying the edition of his history issued in 1845.

⁵ This condition is revealed in Mühlensfeldt, *Vermuth einer getreuen Schilderung der Republicke Mexico*, etc.; Hannover, 1811.

Senora and acquainted himself in exceptional degree with the neophytes and their wilder kindred. About the beginning of 1701 he crossed with great danger ("pasó con grande peligro") from Loreto to the eastern coast, and, accompanied by two "Indios Guaymas, caciques," proceeded among the Sonoran settlements.¹ On February 18 he was at the new town of Magdalena (de Tepoca), "where, with great labor, Padre Melchor Bartiromo had gathered more than a hundred souls of the maritime nation of Tepocas", and where the visitors were accorded an enthusiastic reception. He went on to say:

It is notable that where the Tepocas and Salineros are located the sea is populous with islands (many poblado de islas), and the first of these toward the coast contains foot-folk (gente de á pie), who live on it. These there are two islands much nearer the mainland of California, and it is said that they [the Tepocas] are able to navigate in their barquinillas [balsa] to the adjacent coast; and the possession of these Tepocas, who are all Seri by nation, of certain words of the Cuchimisi of [Lower] California, who occupy the opposite coast, indicates that they have communicated in other times.²

This record is especially significant as indicating the affinity between the Seri and the Tepoca, as establishing the transnavigation of the Gulf by the Seri craft, and as explaining the possible passage of loan words from the Cuchimi to the Seri, and presumptively from the Seri to the Cuchimi.

A notable visitor to the shores of Seriland was Padre Juan Maria Salvatierra, who had previously "made a peace betwixt the Seris cristians, and the Pimas", soon violated by the former "in the murder of 40 Pimas". In August, 1700, he essayed the recovery of a vessel wrecked "on the barren coast of the Seris", which these Indians were engaged in looting and breaking up for the nails; and, by dint of his "persuasive elocution . . . not a little forwarded by the respectable sweetness of his air", aided by timely explosions of the bark's pateraroes (mortars), he induced restitution, the restoration of peace, and the reinstatement of several of the robbing and murdering Seri as communicants.³ Padre Salvatierra observed the distinctive character of the Seri tongue, but made no extended exploration of Seriland, either coastwise or interior.

The next noteworthy visitor was Padre Juan de Ugarte, who, at the instance of Salvatierra, undertook an exploration of the gulf coast complementary to Kino's land explorations about its northern terminus. Ugarte was the Hercules of Baja California history; he awed the natives by slaying a California lion, unarmed save with stones, and enforced orderly attention to his catechizing by seizing an obstreperous champion by the hair, lifting him at arm's length, and shaking him into submission; and under incredible difficulties due to absence of material and distance of timber, he built the first vessel ever con-

¹ Desembarco para la Historia de Mexico, cuarta edicion, tomo V; Mexico, 1897, pp. 128-129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³ *Parraga, A Natural and Civil History of California*, vol. 1, pp. 404-411.

175 of these missions to Seriland are significant: according to the anonymous author of Senora's classic, "Rudo Ensayo", written in 1763, Bacameri lay in the valley of Rio Opodepe (or Horcasitas), 7 leagues below the town of the same name (still extant); 9 leagues down the same stream lay Populo (on the site of the present town of Horcasitas); Angeles lay 3 or 4 leagues farther downstream, or over 13 leagues above the site of Pittie (the present Hermosillo); while various references indicate that the temporary mission of Santa Magdalena was located in the same valley, probably a few leagues above Opodepe.¹ Accordingly, the missions ranged from 100 to 150 miles inland, measured in an air line, or four hard days' journey, as shown by Escalante's record, from the Seri coast. The nearest mission at Angeles was 75 miles, or three days' journey, from the inland margin of Seriland proper, and the intervening territory was a depopulated expanse ("el grande despeblado") according to Villa-Señor,² ranged but not inhabited by Seri and Tepoka hunting parties. Never traversed by white men, save those of Coronado's parties nearly two centuries before and of Escalante's hurried expeditions of 1700, this "despeblado" was practically unknown; even the surprisingly well-informed author of "Rudo Ensayo" was unaware of the existence of Rio Bacnahe, and noted only such prominent mountains as Cerro Prieto and "Bacoatzi the Great in the land of the Seris",³ lying far outside the tribal home. The remoteness of the missions from the habitat of the tribe bears testimony to the dread with which they were regarded, and to the slightness of the influence exerted on the tribesmen by the zealous padres.

Despite the efforts of both priesthood and soldiery, the number of Seri converts at the missions was limited. In 1700 there were ten families at Populo; true, they had slipped away to maverick the herds ("por ladrones de ganados"), but Escalante overtook them and whipped them back to the shadow of the church; later he captured 120 Tepoka people (probably some twenty families, with a few strays), and recaptured 300 backsliders (perhaps fifty families or more), and baled them all to the mission, where lands were allotted to them and where they were carefully guarded by the ecclesiastics—until opportunity came for recapture; and to this congregation Escalante added a few Seri prisoners taken on Tiburon, as noted above. In 1727 Brigadier Pedro de Rivera noted a dozen tribes in central Senora, including the "Seris" and "Tepocas", numbering 31,740 "of all ages and both sexes", all receiving

¹ Rudo Ensayo, *Culture's* translation in *Records of the Am.-Mex Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 7, 1894, p. 124. Baudouin identified the author as Pedro Montwig, S. J., of Huamantla, eastern Senora. (*First Report of Investigations among the Indians*, etc., part 1, in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, vol. 11, 1895, p. 78). The name is written "John Montwig" in a third person reference in *Quiénes*' translation; but an editorial footnote adds, "Es decir a primer's mistake for Montwig—L. F. P. [sic]" (*Ibid.*, p. 181).

² *Noticias Estadísticas del Estado de Senora*, by José Francisco Velasco, Mexico, 1895, p. 131.

³ *Theatre Américain, Description Générale de les Roisins, y Provincias de la Nueva España*, y sus Jurisdicciones, Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor, y Sanchez, segunda parte, Mexico, 1740, p. 282.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

the ministrations of "los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús". He added: "Besides the above-named Indians there are found in the middle part of the province of Oaximuri, in the western part bordering on the Gulf of California, certain nations of pagans in small numbers; they are the Salineros, Cocomaques, and Guaymas."¹ Neither the numbers of Seri and Tepoka at the missions, nor the respective proportions at the missions and on the native habitat, were recorded by the brigadier. According to Alegre, eighty families (including those transferred from Pitia) were gathered at Populo and Angeles, under the specially arduous efforts of Judge José Rafael Gallardo, in 1749;² although Padre Nicolás de Purura, "who for the longest time bore with their insolent behavior, . . . did not see more than 300 hundred persons when they had all come together".³ It would appear that the great majority of the Populo and Angeles converts belonged to the Tepoka, while others belonged to the Guayma and Upanguayma, with whom the Seri were at war about that time;⁴ yet there were enough representatives of the Seri to gain a shocking character for sloth, filth, thievery, treachery, obstinacy, and drunkenness. Assuming that a quarter of the converts were Seri (and this ratio is larger than any of the known records would indicate), there could hardly have been more than a hundred of the tribe gathered about the several missions at this palmiest time of Jesuit missionizing; and the records show that by far the greater portion of these were women, children, cripples, and vieilards, the warriors being commonly slain in the vigorous proselyting expeditions conducted by the civil and military coadjutors of the padres. If at this time the Seri population reached the 2,000 estimated by Dávila⁵ and others, the proportion of proselytes (or apostates from Seri naturalism) was but 5 per cent of the tribe and naturally comprised the less vigorous and characteristic element. The writer of "Rudo Kasayo" reckons that during six years preceding 1763 the Seri stole from the settlers (for eating, the sole use to which they put such stock) "more than 4,000 mules, mares, and horses";⁶ i. e., enough to sustain two or three hundred people, or a full thousand if this meat formed no more than a fourth or a fifth of their diet, as the contemporary records imply—and this was after the "extermination" of the Seri by Farilla in 1750.

Evidently the good padres greatly overestimated their knowledge of and influence on this savage yet amiable tribe; actually they touched the Seri character only lightly and temporarily, contributing slightly

¹ Diario y Derrotero de la Compañía, Vista, y Observado en el Ducado de la Vista general de Provincias, attended en las Provincias Ynteriores de Nueva España, Guastemala, 1698, fol. 1514-1515.

² Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, vol. III, p. 289.

³ Rudo Kasayo, p. 190.

⁴ Zamora, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 162-163. The Seres were annihilated or driven into the Yaqui country by 1760 (Rudo Kasayo, p. 190).

⁵ Historia Histórica y Descriptiva, p. 218.

⁶ Ibid., p. 140.

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7175 to spontaneous acculturation, but never coming into relation with the tribe as a whole.

And despite the efforts of both soldiers and priests, the savages continued to ravage the settlements, to repel pioneering, to decimate the herds and murder the vaqueros who sought to protect them, to plunder everything portable and ambuscade punitive parties, and even to engage in open hostilities. "In 1730 the Seris, Tepocas, Salineros, and Tiburon islanders kept the province in great excitement, killing twenty-seven persons and threatening all the pueblos with a general conflagration";¹ and both before and after this date the recorded sanguinary episodes were too frequent for even passing mention, while the indications between lines point to robberies and assassinations and minor conflicts too many for full record even by the patient chroniclers of the time.

Sometime about the beginning of the eighteenth century the Spanish settlements pushed down Rio Sonora beyond the confluence of the Opudepe to the last water gap, made conspicuous by a marble butte in its throat and by the fact that here the sometimes subterranean flow always rose to the surface in a permanent stream of pure and cool water. Here, according to Padre Dominguez, "it was attempted to locate the Presidio of Cinaloa against the rapacity of the Zeria, Tepocas, and Pimas; and here General Idobro, of Cinaloa, wished to found a pueblo of Tiburon Indians, brought for the purpose [probably from Populo and Angeles] that they might be kept in subjection, but most of them returned to their island and attempted to make attacks from their hiding places."² Nevertheless, the padre found 29 married persons, 14 single, and 99 children of these "races" at the rancho. At the time of his visit the place was known as Rancho del Pitquin; later it became the Pueblo of Pitie, or Pitiqui, or Pitiquin, or San Pedro de Pitie,³ and long afterward the city of Hermosillo, while the beautiful marble butte was christened Cerro de la Campana.

By 1742 the settlements were so far extended as to warrant the establishment of a royal fort in the water-gap at Pitie;⁴ and the ecclesiastics kept pace with the military movement by founding the mission of San Pedro de la Conquista,⁵ or "Pueblo de San Pedro de la Conquista de Seris"⁶ (now abbreviated to "Pueblo Seris", or merely "Seris"); both fort and mission being designed primarily for better

¹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

² *Diario del Padre Dominguez en Sonora y Nizalco, 1731*, manuscript in archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

³ This place on Rio Sonora is not to be confounded with the Rancho (afterward Pueblo) of Pitiqui or San Diego de Pitiqui (The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies . . . of Colonel Don Antonio de Alanda, by G. A. Thompson, London, 1814, vol. iv, p. 133), or Pitie chiquito (Ibid. San. Mex. Geog. y Est., vol. vii, 1888, p. 614), or Pitiquin, now the town of Pitiquito on Rio San Ignacio.

⁴ Alegre, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus*, tomo vii, p. 289; Villa-Saor, *Theatre Americain*, segunda parte, p. 289; *Estado Sonora*, p. 189.

⁵ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 538.

⁶ *Reise-Erzählungen und Abentheuer aus der neuen Welt*, von C. A. Fajon, Bremen, 1681, p. 97.

4175 "Guaimas" and "Jupanguaimas". Alegre located the Seri on the coast of the gulf from a few leagues north of the mouth of the Yaqui to Bahía San Juan de Bautista (Bahía Kino), adding, "with them may be classed the Guaimas, few in number and of the same language".¹ Writing about the same time, José Gallardo observed: "The distinction is slight between the Seri and Upanguaima, the one and the other having the same idiom" ("Poco es la distinción que hay entre seri y upanguaima, . . . y unos y otros casi hablan un mismo idioma").² The author of "Ruido Ensayo" wrote: "The Guaimas speak the same language, with but little difference, as the Seris."³ He mistook Cerro Prieto as their principal retreat; mentioned the mountains of Bacoatzí Grande, Las Espueias, and others as other haunts; noted Tiburón and San Juan Bautista (San Esteban I) islands as less-known shelters, and gave extended attention to "the poison they use for their arrows" as "the most virulent known in these parts"; for "even in cases where the skin only is wounded, the injured part begins to swell, and the swelling extends all over the body to such a size that the flesh bursts and falls to pieces, causing death in twenty-four hours." To test this poison, the Seri "bandage tightly the thigh or arm of one of their robust young men; then make an incision with a flint and let the blood flow away from the wound. When the blood is some distance from the incision, they apply the point of an arrow to it, steeped in the deadly poison. If at the approach of the point of the arrow the blood begins to boil and recedes, the poison is of the right strength, and the man who lends his blood for the experiment brushes it out with his hand to prevent the poison from being introduced into his veins." He was unable "to find out with certainty of what deadly materials the deadly poison is composed. Many a thing is spoken of, such as heads of irritated vipers cut at the very moment of biting into a piece of lung; also half putrefied human flesh and other filth with which I am unwilling to provoke the nausea of the reader." He added the opinion that "the main ingredient is some root."⁴ Padre Joseph Och, who, with other German evangelists including padres Mittendorf, Pfefferkorn, and Ruen (or Rohen), was stationed in northwestern Sonora shortly before the eviction of the Jesuits, was one of the recorders of aboriginal traits and features, though his record (like that of most of his confrères) is impoverished by his failure to discriminate tribes; but one of his notes is specific:

As an extraordinary trapping [Zierde] the Seris pierce the nasal septum and hang small colored stones, which swing in front of the mouth, thence by strings. A few carry, suspended from the nose, little blue-green pebbles, in which they repose great faith. They prize these very highly, and one must give them at least a horse or a cow in exchange for one.⁵

¹ *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, p. 718.

² *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. III (The Native Races, vol. III), 1882, p. 794.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198.

⁵ *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des Spanischen Amerika, aus eigenhändigen Aufzeichnungen einiger Missionare der Gesellschaft Jesu, herausgegeben von Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, erster Theil*, Halle, 1800, p. 255.

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PASSING OF THE JESUITS—1767

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It is significant fact, and one attesting the physical and intellectual distance of the padres from the normal Seri, that so few notes of ethnologic value were made during the Jesuits' régime. With a single exception, so far as is known,¹ they recorded not a word of the Seri tongue, not a distinctive custom beyond those evidently of common knowledge, none of the primitive ceremonies and ideas such as attracted their coadjutors in Canada and elsewhere. They made no reference to the alleged cannibalism so conspicuous in later lore; but their silence on this point cannot be regarded as evidential, since they were equally silent concerning nearly all the characteristic customs and traits. The neighboring Papago tribe met the invaders frankly as man to man, displaying a notable combination of receptivity and self-containment which enabled them to assimilate just so much of the Caucasian culture as they deemed desirable, yet to maintain their purity of blood and distinctiveness of culture for centuries; the Seri, on the other hand, met the invaders as enemies, to be first feared, then blinded, baited, and bled by surreptitious and sinister devices, and finally to be assassinated through ambushade or remorseless treachery; and it is manifest that they surpassed the gentle padres in shrewdness and strategy, using them as playthings and tools, and carefully concealing their own characters and motives the while.

With the passing of the Jesuits, the publication of Sonoran records received a check from which the province has never completely recovered. True, the place of the order was partly taken by the Colegio Apostólico de Querétaro, which promptly dispatched fourteen Franciscan friars to Sonora, early in 1768, to take possession of the old missions and to found others;² it is also true that civil enactments and commissions, as well as military orders and reports, increased with the growth of population; but comparatively few of the events and actions found their way to the press. Seri episodes continued to recur with irregular frequency; according to Dávila, the Seri outbreaks and wars "exceed fifty in number since the conquest of Sonora",³ and there are decisive indications that the Franciscan régime was not without its due quota of strife. Moreover, the period was one of somewhat exceptionally vigorous pioneering, of the initiation of mining and agriculture, and of conquest over the "despoblado" formerly ranged and inhabited by the Seri. It was during this period that the Seri were permanently dislodged from their outlying haunts and watering-places in Cerro Prieto; and it was during this period, too, that exploration and settlement were extended to Rio Bacnache with such energy as to displace the Seri from their other outlying refuge in the barrancas of this stream. But, as the events and lines of progress multiplied, the burden for the contemporary chronicler

¹The *Noticia de las Personas que han escrito ó publicado algunas obras sobre Indios que se hablan en la Republica del Mexico*, by Dr. José Guadalupe Romero, includes a MS. "Vocabulario de las Lenguas Raráuri, Pima y Seri", written by Padre Adriano Gilg (Bul. Soc. Mex. Cong. y Estad., 1880, tomo VIII, p. 278).

²Dávila, *Sonora Histórica y Descriptiva*, p. 10; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

³Ibid., p. 219.

1175 augmented without corresponding increase in incentive to writing, and it is little wonder that the custom of writing, copying, manifold, and printing the contemporary records fell into desuetude.

Despite the meagerness of the Franciscan chronicles, the friars of this order are to be credited with making and recording one of the most noteworthy essays toward the subjugation of the Seri—an essay involving the first and last actual attempt to found a Caucasian establishment within Seriland proper. The ecclesiastical corps, sent out from Querétaro college under the presidency of Fray Mariano Antonio de Buena y Alcañle, reached Sonora early in 1708, and were distributed among the missions to which they were respectively assigned before the end of June; and Fray Mariano participated in the efforts to subdue the Seri enconced in Cerro Prieto. After some months of apparently nominal siege, the hostiles straggled out of their retreat, whereupon "the governor, seeing them assembled and peaceful, brought the friar to instruct and baptize them";¹ the friar promptly acquiesced, with the provision that he should be furnished with the requisite appurtenances of a mission, including not only a church and sacred ornaments, but a house and living for a resident minister. The requirements delayed procedure, but resulted in the appointment of Fray Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabe (already designated by the Querétaro college as Fray Mariano's successor) to take charge of the Seri mission. "The new president, desiring to gratify his proper zeal and the insistence of the governor as to the need of those miserable Indians for the bread of doctrinism", obtained candles and wine from private benefactors, and, despite his inability to find even a hut for shelter, established a sanctuary in the *Hanchetia de los Seris* (Pueblo Seri) on November 17, 1772:

It was impossible to satisfy the ambition of the missionaries to catechize all the Indians, because, although the whole nation was peaceable, its small portion of them were devoid of desire to hear doctrinism, as many of them had withdrawn to their ancient lurking haunts, principally on Isla Tiburón, whence they came to the Presidio Hermositas, making false displays to the governor of great fidelity and obedience, petitioning that they should not be taken from the island, but should be given a minister to baptize them the same as those at Pitic; and they did not wish to join those nor to leave the rocky fastness of their libertinage and asylum of their crimes. . . . To conceal their purposes, they petitioned that a town for them should be established on the opposite coast, where they might assemble on leaving the island. Their request was embarrassing because on examination of the coast there was found only a single scanty spring in a carizal in a playa-like country [*toda la tierra como de playa*], with little fuel and no timber.

Not unnaturally Fray Crisóstomo hesitated to locate a mission on the practically uninhabitable site, in which, moreover, "the mission would be of no utility because the Indians did not really wish to leave their island and submit to religious instruction, nor could the coast supply the necessary food, as it was a barren sand waste, so that it would become

¹ *Crónica Breve y Apéndice del Colegio de Propaganda Fidei de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en su Nueva España*. . . . escrita por el Padre Fray Juan Domingo Arcelevita, O. P. Méjico, 1791, p. 438.

1175 when exhumed six months later, attests the dry and saline soil in this vicinity. None of these conditions exist about Aguaje Parilla at the southeastern base of Sierra Seri. The present absence of living carrizal at Peco Escalante is of little significance, since the extinction of the plant might easily have been wrought either by the stock of later expeditions or by the rise of the salt-water horizon accompanying the local subsidence of the land; certainly dried roots and much-weathered fragments of cane still remain about the margin of the plays extending southward from the well.

The episode culminating in the assassination of Fray Cristóbal was characteristic: beset at all points and rankling under the invasion of their range, the Seri sought anew to delude the governor with fair words, using their own reprobates and apostates at Pític and elsewhere to point their accusations; and remembering the facility with which the earlier ecclesiastics were duped into unwitting allies, they made the kindly and long-suffering friars the immediate object of their petitions. But some of the tribe galled under the lengthy and still lengthening blood feud too deeply to tolerate the alien presence; and one of these, either alone or supported by the alleged accomplices or others, tried a typical ruse, suggested less by need than inherited habit; for the friar was helpless in their hands, and might have been slain in his jacal as easily as in the open. Typically, too, the assassination initiated or deepened factional dissension and further bloodshed.

[114] The Franciscan records are of even less ethnologic use than those of the Jesuits. Beyond his incidental expressions concerning Seri character and custom in connection with the founding and abandonment of Carrizal, it need only be noted that Arriavita makes hardly a reference to the Topoka, but habitually combines the "Seri y Píton" — the latter perhaps representing the "confederate Píton" of "Rudo Enayo", or the Soba occupying the lower reaches of Rio San Ignacio about that time.

Among the meager and scattered Franciscan records is a letter from Fray Francisco Troncoso, dated September 18, 1824, which is of note as containing an estimate of the Seri population at the time:

This island [Tiburo] has more than a thousand savage inhabitants, enemies of those of California, and it has frequently occurred that, on banks of rivers, they have crossed over to invade the mission [of Loreto], killing and robbing some of those they found there.

The record is of value also as indicating that the Seri traversed the gulf freely, and raided settlements and tribes of the peninsula ruthlessly as those of the mainland.

The Carrizal episode was followed by a half century of comparative silence concerning the Seri, though various contemporary records and later compilations indicate customary continuance of the Seri wars.

Among the more useful compilations is that of Velasco; and among the more important episodes noted by him was the Cimarron-Migueltón war of 1780.¹ The Cimarrones included the greater part of the Seri of Tiburón and the Tepoks (then estimated at 2,000 of both sexes),² together with the "Pimas called *Pisno*, of the pueblos of Cárdena, Tabatana, Oquitos, etc.", and supposedly certain other representatives of the Pima and Apache, who had shortly before marauded Magdalena and sacked Soria, killing a dozen persons;³ the Migueltóns were national troops assigned to Sonora under the command of Colonel Domingo Elizondo. The forces met in several bloody battles in Cerro Prieto, at Japangualmas, and at Presidio Viejo; and the former, or at any rate the Seri, were once more "annihilated" ("reducidos a nulidad"). Nevertheless, the hydra-headed tribe retained enough vitality in 1807 to induce Governor Alejo García Conde to send an army of a thousand men to Guaymas, en route to Tiburón, to repeat the extirpation—though the expedition came to naught for international reasons.

Among the more useful contemporary records is an unpublished manuscript report by Don José Cortez, dated 1790, found in the Forbes library, translated by Buckingham Smith, and abstracted by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple for the Report of the Pacific Railway Survey. A subsection of this report is devoted to "the Seris, Tiburones, and Tepocas". It runs:

The Seri Indians live towards the coast of Sonora, on the famous Cerro Prieto, and in its immediate neighborhood. They are cruel and sanguinary, and at one time formed a numerous band, which committed many excesses in that rich province. With their poisoned shafts they took the lives of many thousand inhabitants, and rendered unavailing the expedition that was sent on foot against them from Mexico. At this time they are reduced to a small number; have, on many occasions, been successfully encountered by our troops; and are kept within bounds by the vigilance of the three posts (*presidios*) established for the purpose. None of their customs approach, at all, to those of civilization; and their notions of religion and marriage exist under barbarous forms, such as have before been described in treating of the most savage nations. The Tiburón and Tepoca Indians are a more numerous tribe, and worthy of greater consideration than the Seris, but their bloodthirsty disposition and their customs are the same. They ordinarily live on the island of Tiburón, which is connected with the coast of Sonora by a narrow inundated isthmus, over which they pass by swimming when the tide is up, and when it is down, by wading, as the water then only reaches to the waist, or not so high. They come onto the continent, over which they make their incursions, and, after the commission of robberies, they return to the island; on which account no punishment usually follows their temerity. It is now twenty-three or twenty-four years since the plan was approved by His Majesty, and ordered to be carried out, of destroying them on their island; but, until the present season, no movement has been made to

¹ *Noticias Estadísticas del Estado de Sonora*, Mexico, 1868, p. 224 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 602. It is incredible that such a confederation of so heterogeneous elements could ever have been effected; it is incomparably more probable that there was a succession of outbreaks of the Seri, Pima, and Apache, each stimulated by the renewal of aiders for defense against the other enemies, just as Seri outbreaks follow Yaqui outbreaks today; but it was undoubtedly a custom of the times (a custom still existing) to connect the several enemies in current thought and speech.

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475 put it into execution. To this end the troops of Sonora are being equipped; a corvette of the department of San Blas aids in the expedition and two or three vessels of troops from the companies stationed at the port of that name on the South sea.¹

[14] The record is significant as voicing an ill-founded discrimination of the wandering Seri from the inhabitants of Tiburón, as echoing persistent conception of Tiburón as a peninsula, and as summarizing the characteristics of the tribe recognized at the end of the last century.

Meantime population and industries increased, while civil and military development pursued its course; the Presidio of Pitic expanded into a pueblo, and later into the city which gradually adopted the cognomen of General José María González Hermosillo, a hero of Sonora in the stirring times of 1810-1812; Pueblo Seri became Mexicanized, retaining only a few Seri families in 1811, according to Manuel Cabrera;² Guaymas grew into a port of some commercial note; pearl fishing progressed along the coast and prospecting in the interior; despite constant harrying by Seri raids, the rancho of Bacuachito (probably the Bacoachizo of Escudero³) became a flourishing pueblo; and plans for ports in the northern gulf were broached and even tested. Moreover, the dawn of the nineteenth century stirred scientific interest in the native tribes, including the obstinate owners of Tiburón—an interest stimulated by Humboldt's American journeys of 1803.

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175 Combining earlier cartography (originating with Kino) and persistent tradition up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Humboldt mapped "Isla de Tiburón" nearly a degree too far northward, and separated from the mainland by a greatly exaggerated strait. The land portion of the map is strikingly defective, revealing in numerous imaginary mesas the author's penchant for Mexican plateaus, while "Río Hiaqui" ("de Yaqui ou de Sonora" in the text) is combined with Río Sonora and given an intermediate position, and "Río de la Asunción" (Río San Ignaciá) is represented as passing through an estuary into the gulf just off the northern end of Tiburón; the "Indiens Seris" being located on a figmentary mesa north of the latter river and due west of Uaborca, Pitic (apparently a composite of San Diego de Pitic, or modern Pitiquito, with San Pedro de Pitic, or modern Hermosillo), and Altar.⁴ His text corresponds:

175 On the right bank of Río de la Asunción live some very bellicose Indians, the Seris, to whom many Mexican savants ascribe an Asiatic origin by reason of the analogy offered by their name with that of the Serl lauded by the ancient geographers at the base of the Otlorocurus mountains.⁵

● 113 ¹Reports of Explorations and Surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, vol. 28, part 2; Report upon the Indian Tribes, 1846, pp. 125-128. The original Cortes manuscript is now in the Library of Congress.

²La Yeluma, op. cit., p. 127.

³Noticias Estadísticas de Sonora y Sinaloa. Compiladas y Ampliadas para la Comisión de Estadística Militar, por el Lic. D. José Agustín de Escudero, México, 1868, p. 95.

⁴Atlas Géographique et Physique du Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne, par A. de Humboldt, Paris, 1811, carte générale.

⁵Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland, troisième partie: Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne, tome 1, Paris, 1811, pp. 299-307.

Naturally most of the scientific inquiries of the time were, like those of Humboldt, based on tradition rather than on direct observation. 175^x
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Toward the end of the first third of the century an important contribution to actual knowledge of Seriland and the Seri at last grew out of the pearl industry. In May, 1823, Lieutenant R. W. H. Hardy, R. N., was commissioned by the "General Pearl and Coral Fishery Association of London" to investigate the pearl fisheries of the Californian gulf; and his task was performed with promptness and energy. On February 13, 1828, he visited Pitie (under Hermosillo):

Half a league short [south] of it is another small place, called the Pueblo de los Cerros, inhabited by a squalid race of Indians who are said to indulge in constant habits of intemperance and to have lost the fire of the warrior. In its stead they manifest the sullen stupidity peculiar to those who, feeling themselves admitted for companionship, strive to vent their pusillanimous rage upon objects the most helpless and unoffending, such as women, children, and dogs, who appear to be the chief victims of their revenge.

His chief object in visiting Pitie was to obtain information concerning Tiburón, its natives, and its pearl-oyster beds; and he was rewarded with characteristic accounts of the ferocity of the tribesmen and their use of poisoned arrows, which he received with some incredulity.¹

After examining the principal pearl fisheries of the western coast, Lieutenant Hardy reached the "Sal si Pudiesen" in the throat of the gulf, and, on August 9, "got astant of wind, which carried us up to the northwest end of Tiburón Island"—i. e., apparently over the precise route sailed by Padre Ugarte in 1721. Anchoring on the island, he had the good fortune first to meet a native able to speak Spanish, and later to successfully treat the sick wife of the principal chief, after which he was treated with great consideration, and—unwittingly on his part—adopted into the tribe as a member of the chief clan by the ceremony of face painting, the symbol being that of the turtle totem, to judge from the superficial description. Taking slightly brackish water, just as Ugarte had done one hundred and five years before, and arming his crew, he spent the night near the rancheria (evidently in Bahía Agua Dulce). Next morning he "traveled over the greater part of the island" (!) in fruitless search for pearls and gold, and in the afternoon "got under weigh, and stood into a bay of the continent to the northeast of the island," discovering and naming "Sargent's Point", together with "Cockle Harbour", and "Bruja's bay" in the lee of the point, and also "Arnold's Island"; this island being apparently the present prominent cusp of Punta Sargent, now connected with the mainland by a continuous wave-built bar rising a little way above reach of tides. Anchoring in the bay named from his vessel (*La Bruja*), he examined the adjacent shore, ascertaining that "there is no fresh water near the spot, except

¹ *Travels in the Interior of Mexico in 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828*, London, 1829, p. 86.

² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

1175 traversed the California and entered Sonora, and while he failed to see Seriland, he made a note on the tribe, valuable as a current estimate of the population:

At the gates of the city of Hermosillo is established a Mission which contains 500 Seri Indians; 1,000 of them inhabit the coast to the north of Guaymas and Isla de Raquin (Isla del Tiburón).¹

The next noteworthy episode in the external history of the Seri chronicled in the civil records of Sonora culminated in 1844. "The above-named Seris, although their number never became important, did not abandon their propensity to revolt, and, while they never rose en masse, made many factional uprisings. Ultimately . . . they displayed such boldness, robbing ranches, assassinating all they encountered, assaulting on the roads arreros and other travelers", that a considerable force was sent against them from Hermosillo under the direction of Captain Victor Araiza. It was planned to support this land force by a sea party from Guaymas, but delays and misunderstandings caused the practical abandonment of the plan. Tiring of the delay, Araiza "declared war on the Indians, surprising them on Punta del Carrizal, killing 11, including several innocent women and children", and taking 4 captives of from 1 to 11 years in age; whereupon the army returned to Hermosillo.²

Disapproving of this undignified and inhuman crusade, the acting governor, General Francisco Ponce de Leon, planned a still more vigorous campaign by land and sea for the purpose of capturing the entire tribe and transporting them to Pueblo Seri, where a few of their kin were still harbored.³ The command was intrusted to Colonel Francisco Andrade, who took personal charge of the land force, including 100 infantry from Guaymas, 60 infantry and 30 cavalry from Hermosillo, and considerable corps from Horeasitas and Altar. The naval auxiliary, in charge of Don Tomás Espence,⁴ pilot, comprised a schooner of 12 tons; two launches, one carrying a 4-pound cannon and the other a 2-pound falconet; and one rowboat. On August 11, 1844, Espence sailed from Guaymas, and six days later cast anchor at the embarcadero (apparently a convenient place on the coast of Bahía Kino due west of Puro Escalante—the Embarcadero Andrade of figure 1) opposite Tiburón. Andrade marched from Hermosillo August 13,

113 ¹ *Exposición de Terribles de l'Orizon, des Californes et de la Mer Vermille, extensio pendant les années 1840, 1841 et 1842, tome 1; Paris, 1841, p. 211.*

[114] ² Velasco, *Noticias Estadísticas*, pp. 124, 125. This chronicle is rendered particularly valuable by supplements in the form of Andrade's and Espence's journals, the latter incorporated (p. 125) after Velasco's own writing was completed. The whole was revised, extended, and republished in the several volumes of the first series of *Rev. San. Mex. Cong. y Estad.*, 1881-1883.

³ On August 14, 1844, Secretary Manuel Cebalva reported that "there are in this pueblo not more than fifteen families of Coris located within its borders, maintaining themselves by the manufacture of cotton cloth and by the garbaje of their neighbors, i. e., in time of harvest they give the wheat and corn left scattered, and the bones, entrails, and heads of the stock slaughtered for consumption by the inhabitants." (Incorporated in Velasco, *op. cit.*, p. 125.)

⁴ Tomás Espence, of Guaymas; apparently the "Mr. Espence" mentioned favorably by Hardy (Torres, p. 60).

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175 Here may be said to end, too, the local chronicles of the Seri; for although the state archives are crowded with charges, petitions, commissions, reports, and other papers pertaining to the irrepressible Seri; although these materials have overflowed to Ciudad, Mexico, and even to Washington, in official documents both numerous and voluminous; although Dávila in 1884 increased Velasco's forty Seri wars to fifty; and although the weightiest events in the internal history of the Seri have occurred since 1844, little attempt has hitherto been made to reduce the abundant data to print.

The Mexican geographic knowledge of the time was surprisingly vague, as is shown by the current maps, for example, the Tanner maps which appeared in several editions: the 1846 edition recalls and evidently reflects the Humboldt map of the beginning of the century; "R. Ascencion" is represented as embouching through an estuary about $30^{\circ} 20'$, with the "Seri Indians" north of its lower half-length and west of "Pitic" and "Pt. del Alter"; Ures is located 3 or 4 miles southeast of this fort, and "Bacuach" (the Bacuachito of the present) is 20 miles farther southeastward. Neither Rio Sonora nor any of its important branches are indicated, while "Pitic" is placed several times too far from the coast and from Guaymas, in a featureless expanse of paper; "Rio Hiaqui" is shown as a branchless and conventional stream of a single crescentic curvature, embouching in about the right latitude. The coast of the gulf is distorted, and "Tiburon" is shown as an island much too large and nearly a degree too far north, separated from the mainland by a greatly exaggerated strait, with an elongated mesa ("Mt. del Picu") skirting the mainland coast—in short, the cartography is largely traditional if not fanciful.

The career of the Seri during the half century 1844-1884 is traceable by aid of (1) unpublished documents, (2) published results of scientific inquiries and surveys, and (3) personal reminiscences of men living on the Seri frontier; but in a summary touching only salient points the first-named source may be passed over.

One of the first foreign visitors to follow Baron Humboldt in systematic inquiries concerning the aborigines of northwestern Mexico was Henri Ternaux-Compan; his information, however secondhand and remote, yet he correctly recognized Isla Tiburon as "inhabited by the Seri, who have some huts also on the mainland."

Later came Eduard Mühlenspiess, an attaché of a German commercial company and later a Mexican state official, who traveled extensively and wrote partly at first hand, though there is little indication of personal acquaintance with Seriland or the Seri: he described "Bahia de San

[113] ¹A Map of the United States of Mexico, as organized and defined by the several Acts of the Congress of that Republic, constructed from a great variety of Printed and Manuscript Documents, by H. B. Tanner. Third edition, 1846. The map in *De Mexico* (sup. cit.) differs in little better.

² *Novellen Ausbruch des Völkers, 1844*, p. 208 (edited by Borchmann, *Die Sprache der autochthonen Völker im nördlichen Mexiko und ihre verwandtschaftlichen Verhältnisse, in Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus dem Jahre 1884, erster Supplement Band*; Berlin, 1885, p. 108).

Juan Bautista", with "the small island San Augustin" lying before it (in such manner as to identify this islet with Isla Tanne), and located "the large island Tibaron farther northward, opposite a mountainous coast".¹ He added:

The vastness but cattle-stocked plains between the place Pitic and the coast, and thence up to the river Aconision, are inhabited by a meager remnant of the Seri tribe, while on Tibaron island, opposite this coast, the Tibarones dwell. The Seris were formerly very numerous, by far the fiercest of all the Indian tribes of northern Mexico, and very warlike. Through constant war with the Tibarones and the troops from the Spanish presidios they are now nearly extinct.²

Elsewhere the Tibarones were characterized as enemies of the Seri,³ while the "Heria" tribe was enumerated as a branch of the "Pimas Bajas" people. Herr Mühlenpfordt's characterization of the Seri and the Tibaron islanders as enemies would appear to be groundless, yet not wholly incomprehensible; in the first place, the earlier literature indicates that the term Seri (Seris, Ceris, Heris, etc.) was an alien designation of lax application,⁴ doubtless extended occasionally or habitually to marauding nomads, regardless of affinity; again there is conclusive evidence that in many instances Seri convert-captives attached to the missions and pueblos were often regarded as tribal apostates and outlaws whose lives were forfeit; and, moreover, the region in which Herr Mühlenpfordt gained his information was and still is one of astounding tale, whose frequent exaggeration and not infrequent invention conceal and distort the simple facts.

In 1850, Don Diego Lavandera transmitted to the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics, through the hands of Señor José F. Ramirez, certain documents, accompanied by a note to the effect that "The tribe of the Seris speak Arabic, and it is understood by the Moors at the first interview"—this note merely expressing a prevailing current opinion. Undertaking to test the opinion, Señor Ramirez sent to Lavandera, in Sonora, a number of words in three Arabic dialects, at the same time asking for the Seri equivalents; and the inquiry yielded a Seri vocabulary (probably the first ever printed) of eleven words. Of these none show the slightest affinity with the Arabic dialects; at least four (horse, chamber, population, wine) express concepts alien to the Seri; and only three or four can be identified with Seri terms recorded in later vocabularies. No reference is made to Señor Lavandera's aboriginal informant; but there is a strong presumption that it was the official interpreter at Hermosillo and Pueblo Seri—a presumption

¹ Versuch einer geographisch-historischen Beschreibung der Republik Mexiko bearbeitet von Diego Lavandera in Beziehung auf Geographie, Ethnographie und Statistik: Hannover, 1855, Band 1, p. 661; Band 2, p. 415.

² *Ibid.*, Band 2, pp. 419-420.

³ *Ibid.*, Band 1, p. 730.

⁴ Petrichel defines "Seris" as the "name of a tribe of Sonora, originating probably in the Spanish language" (*Compendio de Geografía de México—Etimología de los Nombres de Lugar*, por el Dr. Antonio Petrichel, primera parte, 1881, p. 275); while Planchet, *Archaica* (an obliquely similar Spanish word, "sereno, para sereno y sereno"), and "Seris, etimología de la palabra que corre" (*Vocabulario Manual de la Lengua Opata*, Ed. Rev. M. S. Góng. y Calad, tomo 1, 1881, p. 264), i. e., a good and direct pace, and the speed of a person running, respectively ref. postea, p. 270.

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175 warranted by coincident historical records and statements of contemporaries still living, to the effect (1) that an official interpreter was there then and for a long time later, (2) that neither then nor later were there other Seri representatives able to furnish vocabularies at Hermosillo, Pueblo Seri, or other towns, and (3) that at that time (as at most others) the relations between the Seri and the whites were such as to prevent amicable communication through casual meeting or otherwise.

Proceeding with his discussion, Señor Ramirez sought to correct the allegation of Abbé Hervás that "in the mission of Belén live three nations, called Hiaqui, Seri, and Guaima, who speak three different languages." After quoting a Jesuit manuscript of July, 1730, reporting that "the language of the Seris is the same as that of the Guaimas", he added a significant statement contained in a manuscript report from the Bishop of Sonora, directed to Don José de Galvez, under date of September 30, 1784, concerning the mission of Belén: "Two nations of Indians, Pimas Bajos and Guaimas, live united, the latter having abandoned their pueblo under the continuous assaults of the Seris. The Pimas use their own language. . . . The Guaimas use their ancient language." Summarizing the evidence (of course secondhand and derived from the observations and reports of the missionaries), Señor Ramirez held as proved, first, "the existence of two diverse languages at the mission of Belén—that of the Guaimas and that of the Pimas Bajos"; and second, that "the Guaimas and the Seri are the same".¹ It would appear that Señor Ramirez hardly appreciated the significance of the statement of sixty-four years before that the Guaimas were still using their "ancient" language, with the implication that they were acquiring familiarity with the Piman tongue—a familiarity that may well have misled later inquirers.

It is just to say that scientific knowledge of the Seri began with the visit to Hermosillo of United States Boundary Commissioner John Russell Bartlett, on December 31, 1851. True, Commissioner Bartlett approached no nearer Seriland than Hermosillo and Guaymas, and saw but a single Seri; yet he obtained an excellent vocabulary and considerable collateral information from this Indian. According to this information—

175 The Ceris tribe of Indians, with the exception of those which are christianized and reside in the village near Hermosillo, occupy the island of Tiboron in the Gulf of California, north of Guaymas. Although believed not to number over 100 warriors, they have long been the dread of the Mexicans between Guaymas and Hermosillo, as well as the country to the north, on account of their continual depredations and murders. Their practice is to lie in wait near the traveled roads, and there surprise small and unprotected parties. Their place of abode being on an island or the shore adjacent, and their subsistence being chiefly gained by fishing, they have no desire to steal animals, which would be of no use to them; nor do they take any prisoners. To murder and plunder small parties of Mexicans seems

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¹ *Lenguas Primitivas, to Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana*, third edition, Cuernavaca, Mexico, 1922, pp. 12-13.

to be their only aim, and every arrow or lance thrown by the Ceris that plumes the skin causes death, as all are poisoned. Many expeditions, fitted out at a great expense, have been sent against them; but, though commanded by competent officers, all have failed. The number being so small, they manage when pursued to conceal themselves where they can not be found. The island of Tiburon, as well as the mainland adjacent, is exceedingly barren and destitute of water; hence parties have suffered greatly in the campaign against them, without accomplishing anything. I was told that the Government had already expended more than \$1,000 for every male of the tribe. The last serious attack of these people was made upon a gentleman traveling to Guaymas in his carriage with his family and attendants, embracing 16 persons. They were surprised in an unfrequented place and every soul put to death.¹ 175X

Commissioner Bartlett quoted Hardy's description of the arrow poison, and, speaking of the Seri tongue, added:

I found it an extremely harsh language, very difficult to express with our letters, and totally different from any aboriginal tongue I had heard spoken; . . . but it was impossible for me, without a close philological comparison with other Indian languages, to arrive at any correct conclusion as to whether this people are allied or not to other aboriginal tribes.

He also referred to a prevalent notion that "the Ceris were of Asiatic origin, in proof of which some statements were made too improbable to repeat. This idea seems to have originated from the resemblance between their name and that given by the ancients to the Chinese."

In order to obtain a Seri vocabulary, Commissioner Bartlett had a messenger dispatched "to a pueblo or village of these Indians near Hermosillo. The person sent for made his appearance in a few hours"; he was "a good-looking man, about 30 years of age. His complexion was fair, and resembled that of an Asiatic rather than an American Indian. His cheek bones were high, and his head round and well formed, though the anterior portion was somewhat angular and prominent. His hair was short, straight, and black. He was a full-blooded Ceris, and came originally from the island of Tiburon. In about three hours I completed the vocabulary quite satisfactorily to myself."² The vocabulary was not printed with the narrative; nor were references made to the Seri population, either in the pueblo or in Seriland. [115]

While the vocabulary was not published by Commissioner Bartlett, it was preserved and passed into the hands of George Gibbs, who made a systematic transcript;³ this came into possession of Dr Albert S. Gatschet, and a copy is preserved in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The name of the native informant is not recorded, but fortunately he was found still living, and was fully identified, during the expeditions of 1894 and 1895—especially toward the end of the 114

¹ Personal Narrative of Expeditions and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, during the years 1884, '85, '86, and '87; New York, 1884, vol. 1, p. 483 et seq. 113

² *Ibid.*, pp. 482-483.

³ This transcript is entered in a blank archaic Vocabulary of 180 Words, printed by the Smithsonian Institution for Gibbs, with a supplementary sheet; it is dated January 1, 1897, and while the published "Narrative" implies that it was recorded December 31, 1895, the manuscript date is one found by the Seri interpreter, Kalamia. 115

ascertained by extended inquiry). Kolusio also remembered "giving his language" (a bold if not sacrilegious act, according to his view) to two or three other persons, (one "not a Mexicano" though speaking Spanish, none "Americano"¹); but the first-mentioned instance was the one most deeply impressed on his mind. At this time (1890) he retained a working knowledge of the Seri tongue, and was able to serve satisfactorily as a Spanish-Seri interpreter; yet careful test showed that he had forgotten numerous native terms, and sometimes inadvertently substituted other Indian (Yaqui, Papago, and probably Opata) and Spanish words; while he knew so little of the tribal customs and beliefs that inquiries pertaining to them were too nearly fruitless to be long pursued. Undoubtedly his knowledge of the Seri tongue was fresher and fuller in 1833; but since he was practically isolated from his tribe in early childhood, he probably never possessed much information concerning the esoteric characters of his people.

The next noteworthy scientific student of the Seri was Johann Carl Eduard Buschmann, who visited various Mexican tribes, but whose knowledge of the Seri was wholly secondhand. Quoting Villa-Señor and Arceivita and other early writers, noting unfortunate passages from Bartlett, and magnifying Mühlenpfordt's misapprehensions into positive error, he reduced knowledge of this and neighboring tribes to chaos. The "Guaymas" were separated from the "Seri (oder Seres)", and these (at least by implication) from the "Tiburones", while the "Piatos" were combined with the Seri, the traditional alliance with the Apache was greatly overdrawn, and the "Heri oder Heris" and the "Topocas" were treated as distinct.² No new facts were adduced, no use was made of local sources of information, and no notice was taken of other than literary data.

In 1857 the gigantic surveying enterprise of Jecker & Co. was undertaken, under a concession from the Government of Mexico, and the scientific surveys were intrusted to a commission headed by El Capitán Carlos Stone (General Charles Pomeroy Stone, U.S.A.). The commission headquartered at Guaymas, purchased vessels for the survey of the coast, and began operations also in the interior; Bahía Pinacati and George Island (named by Hardy in 1836) were surveyed, as well as the entire Sonoran coast south of Guaymas, and "one hundred miles of coast near Tiburón", besides many hundred square miles of valuable lands. At this stage friction developed between the progressive commission and the conservative Sonorenses, which ended in the expulsion of the scientific commission by the State government.³ By reason of the

¹ At the time of inquiry the importance of the other vocabularies was not suspected, and the interpretation was not pushed far enough to permit identification of the persons to whom they were given.

² Die Spuren der uralten Sprache im nördlichen Mexiko und nördlichen amerikanischen Norden. Zugleich eine Musterung der Völker und Sprachen des nördlichen Mexikos und der Westseite Nordamerikas von Guadalupe zu bis zum Kieker. Von Joh. Carl Ed. Buschmann (in Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus dem Jahre 1854, zweiter Supplement-Band); Berlin, 1856, pp. 218-221 and elsewhere.

³ Arizona and Sonora, etc., by Sylvester Hawry; New York, 1864, pp. 98-102.

†175 premature termination of the work, few of the observations and other results were ever published. General Stone himself traveled extensively in Sonora, and delved deeply in the historical records of northern Mexico; and, while there is no indication that he ever came in personal contact with the Seri, he collected and sifted current local information relating to the tribe with notable assiduity. In certain "Notes" prepared in Washington in December, 1890, he wrote:

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†175 The *Caris* are a peculiar tribe of Indians occupying the island of Tiburón and the neighboring coast. They are yet in a perfectly savage state, and live solely by fishing and hunting. Having been at war with the whites from the time of the first missions, they have become reduced in numbers to about 300, counting some 80 warriors. They are of large stature, well made, and athletic. In war and in the chase they make use of poisoned arrows, the wounds from which are almost always fatal. In preparing the poison, it is said they procure the liver of a deer or cow, and by irritating rattlesnakes and scorpions with it, cause it to be struck by a great many of these reptiles. They then hang up the mass to putrefy in a bag, and in the drippings of this bag they soak their arrowheads. I can not vouch for the truth of this statement, but it is current in Sonora. I was informed by a gentleman in Hermosillo that one of his servants, who was slightly shot by a *Caris* arrow, died quickly from the effect of the wound (which mortified almost immediately) in spite of the best medical treatment. Their language is guttural, and very different from any other Indian idiom in Sonora. It is said that on one occasion some of these Indians passed by a shop in Guaymas, where some Welsh sailors were talking, and on hearing the Welsh language spoken, stopped, listened, and appeared much interested, declaring that those white men were their brothers, for they had a tongue like their own. They are very filthy in their habits, and are said to be worshippers of the moon.

†175 Another Mexican traveler of note who collected local and contemporary information concerning the Seri, though enjoying no more than slight inimical contact with them, was Herr Clemens A. Pajekon, of Bremen (for some time a resident of California). He claimed as wild Indians ("Wilde Indianer, Indios broncos") the Seri and Apache tribes. Of the former he wrote:

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†175 *Caris*. This is a small tribe, their number not exceeding 400 souls, or rather head (demon *Seelenzahl* oder besser *Kopfhahl*); yet the government of the State could not restrain this little band of robbers and marauders that for more than twenty years have perpetrated their atrocities on travelers between the port of Guaymas and the city of Hermosillo, the metropolis of the State. . . . The *Caris* appear not to grasp the idea that they are human. Like the prey-beasts of the wilderness, they go out to slay men and animals, sparing only their own kind. In many respects they are viler than the beasts, since they slay without need merely to satisfy a lust for slaughter. They are not only the duplicit and laziest of the Indians of Sonora, but also the most treacherous and deceitful. During the Spanish rule, from the time the first visit was made to lead them toward social life, they have rebelled more than forty times. Only a couple of families (ein paar Familien) still reside in the village (Pueblo Seri), where they make oilies and subsist on the offal of the shambles. The proper home of these barbarians is the island of Tiburón and the adjacent coasts, whither they return after their outbreaks, although it is an incredibly desert region. Thence they repair to the highways to kill travelers and arri-

[113] * Notes on the State of Sonora, by Charles F. Stone, 1890; Washington, 1891, p. 19. Reprinted in Historical Magazine, vol. 7, 1891, pp. 145-146.

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area, or to the ranges to steal cattle. They confine themselves to the bow and arrow, and the latter are poisoned, so that every wound made by them is deadly, or at best highly dangerous. On my second journey into the interior of the country my horse received an arrow in the hip; the arrow, which entered 4 inches, could not be withdrawn until the following day; and for seven months the wound sequestered. . . . Their chief food consists of oysters, mussels, snakes, with fish and other sea food, which they consume entirely raw and which surrounds them with an intolerable stench; though this may be partly due to their exceeding uncleanliness, since the process of washing is wholly unknown to them. Their clothing consists of a kilt of porcupine skin. They tattoo their faces, and some pierce their noses to insert a certain green stone (obsidian). They are of dark copper color, large and strongly built. Although in their faces no human sentiments can be discerned, yet they can not be called ugly. Their limbs are so beautifully proportioned that the Spanish ladies in Hormonville view with envy the slender shapes and the comely hands and feet of the young Coris maidens. They wear no head-dresses; and as their coarse, shaggy hair is neither combed nor cleaned, it sticks out in tangled tufts in all directions like spikes on a hedgehog; this alone gives them a forbidding appearance. Their speech is quite like their character; it is guttural, discordant, and ungraceful, resembling more the howling of wild animals than human speech, wherefore it is difficult for a human to learn. They have no religion—at least, I do not deem the gambols and amusing customs in which they indulge at the new moon to be religious customs. The tribe is constantly diminishing in numbers, and it is hoped they may soon disappear from the earth by natural decrease—unless the State government sooner undertakes a war of extermination.

Here Pajekon's record bears inherent evidence (at least to one familiar with the region) of reflecting the current local knowledge and opinion concerning the Seri with unsurpassed—indeed unequalled—fidelity; and it is also of value in that it indicates the approximate number of the tribe then surviving in Pueblo Seri, and in that it gives the contemporary estimate of the tribal population.

Among the more careful students of the Seri at second hand should be mentioned Buckingham Smith, an enthusiastic collector, translator, and publisher of rare Americana. In the introduction to an anonymous and dateless grammar of the Heve language he wrote in 1861:

The lower Mims are in the west of the province (of Sonora), having many towns extending to the frontier of the indomitable Seri, who live some 30 leagues to the north of the mouth of the Miqui, and have their farthest limit inland some dozen leagues from the sea, finding shelter among the ridges and in the neighboring island of Tiburón.

He added in a note:

The Guinim speak nearly the same language as the Seri, are few in number, and live among the Miqui in Belén and elsewhere, having retreated before the sanguinary fury of their conquerors.

While the scientific knowledge of the Seri began with Bartlett's visit, it assumed definite shape only through the classic researches of Don Francisco Pimentel (Count Hornos) in the early sixties. His analysis and classification of the Seri tongue rest on a short vocabulary

¹ Reise-Erinnerungen und Abenteuer aus der neuen Welt in ethnographischen Bildern, von P. A. Pajekon, Bremen, 1881, pp. 97-98.

² A Grammatical Sketch of the Heve Language, translated from an unpublished Spanish manuscript, in Library of American Linguistics, vol. III, New York, 1901, p. 7.

collected by Señor D. A. Tenochio and transmitted to the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics. Noting the condition of the tribe at the time, Señor Pimentel wrote:

The Seris are now reduced to a few families only, inhabiting Sonora, especially the island of Tiburón, for which reason they are also known sometimes by the name Tiburoneros. The Indians called Salineros, who live on the borders of Pimeria Alta, and the Yupones, who live toward the south, belong to the Seri nation. The Seris have always been notable for their ferocity and barbarism, preferring death in war against the whites to the adoption of civilization. They are dreaded and notorious for their arrows, poisoned with a most virulent venom (*composofadas con activísimo veneno*). They are tall and well formed, and their women are good-looking. By reason of their distrust of the whites, it has not been possible to ascertain their traditions, further than that their ancestors came from distant lands of unknown direction. Of their religion it is known that they adore daily the rising sun.¹

After brief discussion of the grammar, and extended comparison of some sixty out of the seventy vocabularies selected by Señor Tenochio, he concluded:

Although in the list of Seri words consulted the foregoing reveal analogies with those of the Mexican group, these are, without doubt, other terms belonging exclusively to the Seri or some other branch extraneous to the Mexican group; for this reason it would appear that the idiom represents a distinct family.²

The list of these distinct words was appended. Referring to the dialects, Señor Pimentel expressed the opinion, based on literary references, that the "Guayma" or "Gayama", "Upangualma", and "Cocomasques" may be considered as belonging to the Seri family.³

While Señor Pimentel gave credit to his informant, Señor Tenochio, he did not indicate the original source of the vocabulary; but the source may be defined approximately by a process of elimination: there is hardly a possibility that the terms were obtained from any tribesmen in Sonora, since they were all inimical to the whites, and since very few of them have ever known enough of the Spanish tongue to permit communication with the Mexicans; accordingly, it is practically certain that the Seri interpreter must have been either (1) a resident of Pueblo Seri or (2) an attaché of rancho San Francisco de Costa Rica (of which more anon); and in either case it would seem certain that the native informant could have been none other than the standard Seri-Spanish interpreter of the last half century—Kolusio. Indeed, Kolusio was, at the time, the only Seri habitué of Pueblo Seri possessing sufficient knowledge of the Spanish and enough intelligence and independence to "give his language", and was one of the two frequenters of the rancho similarly equipped.

Pimentel's contemporary, Licenciado Manuel Orozco y Barra, contributed in important measure to systematic knowledge of the Seri, which

¹ *Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México, ó Tratado de Filología Mexicana*, por Francisco Pimentel, segunda edición unida completa, tomo II; México, 1875, p. 125. The first edition of the work was published in two volumes, dated, respectively, 1862 and 1865.

² *Ibid.*, p. 911.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 906.

he defined (apparently on the basis of the Tenochtic vocabulary system-175
ized and published by Pimentel) as a distinct linguistic family with 197
two dialectic branches, viz: [14]

IX FAMILIA.—SÉRI.

XXXX. Séri, por los séris, séris, tiburonas, tepocas, salineros, en Sonora.

01. 1. Upanguaima, por los upanguaimas, en Sonora.

02. 11. Gualma, por los gualmas, guaymas, gaymas, cocomaguas, en Sonora. 131

Orozco's map assigns to the Seri family an immense area (recalling 175
Villa-Señor's "despoblado") extending from just above the mouth of the
Yaqui, northward to the thirtieth parallel on the coast, stretching
inland nearly to Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Urea, and including Tiburon;
the "Salineros" lying adjacent to the coast in the north, the "Tepocas"
medially, and the "Guaymas" in the south, within this area. In eluci-
dating the map he wrote, under the title "El séri.—El upanguaima.—
El gualma":

The Séris, a tribe inhabiting Sonora, forms, with its subtribes, a separate family. 101
By their language, by their customs, and by their physiognomy, they are completely 175
set apart from affiliation with the surrounding nations; and apparently they have
lived in the district which they now occupy from times anterior to the establish-
ment of the Pima race and its allies; their use of poisoned arrows recalls the
Caribs of the islands, as well as of the continent, and it seems not unlikely,
although very curious, that they are related to them. The Séris, known also as Tib-
uronas, a name derived from the island of Tiburon in the Mar de Cortés, which serves
them as a shelter, considered as parts of their tribe the Tepocas and the Salineros.

The "Upanguaima" (a very small tribe occupying the Seri border) 175
and the "Gualmas", as well as the "Cocomaguas" were combined
chiefly on the authority of Jesuit writers.² In describing the State of
Sonora he further wrote:

The Séris, bounded by the sea on the west, the Pimas Altas on the north, the 175
Opatas and the Pimas Bajos on the east, and the pueblos of Rio Yaqui on the south, 131
form the smallest nation of Sonora, but at the same time the most cruel and deceit-
ful and the least capable of reduction to political organization. Hardly uniting
with the smaller pueblos as at Popule and Belen, the rest of the nation engaged so
constantly in cruel warfare that it was necessary to persecute and exterminate
them. . . . Small as was the tribe, three divisions are known: the Salineros, 101
extending to the confines of Pimeria Alta; south of them the Tepocas, nearest to the
island of Tiburon; the Guaymas and Upanguaymas occupying the territory adjacent
to the harbor of the same name, afterward added to the pueblo at Belen and
blended with the Indians of Rio Yaqui. Ferocious and savage, they preferred to
die in war against the whites rather than adopt their ways and customs; lax and
indolent, they so surrendered themselves to the passion of intoxication that mothers
conveyed aguardiente from their mouths to the smallest babes. They are tall and
well formed, the women not lacking in beauty. The poison with which they
envenom their arrows is proverbial for deadly effect; they compound the venomous
juice from a multitude of ingredients and fortify the compound by superstitious
practices.³

² Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México, Precedida de un Ensayo de Clasifi-
cación de las Mismas Lenguas y de Apuntes para las Investigaciones de las Tribus, por el Lic. Manuel
Ortiz y Berra; Mexico, 1864, p. 60. [113]

³ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 322-324.

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The classifications by Pimentel and Orozco were widely accepted, and were given still wider currency by republication in standard works, such as the classic dictionary of the Nahuatl tongue by Rémi Simón, in which is defined "La famille Seri, dans la Sonora, avec 3 idiomes: le Seri, le Guasima et l'Upanguayma."¹ In his ethnographic tableau of the nations and languages of Mexico, M. V. A. Malte-Brun followed Orozco almost literally, save that he emphasized the suggested Caribbean affiliation of the Seri, saying:

They make use of poisoned arrows, and when one studies their manners, their habits, their modes of life, one is tempted to find in them a strong affinity [grande affinité] with the Caribs of the continent and the islands.²

During the seventies Hubert Howe Bancroft was engaged in collecting material for his monumental series of works, and in arranging the ethnologic data for publication. Of the Seri he wrote:

East of the Opata and Pima bajo, on the shores of the Gulf of California, and thence for some distance inland, and also on the island of Tiburón, the Seri language with its dialects, the Guaymi and Tepoca, is spoken. Few of the words are known, and the excuse given by travelers for not taking vocabularies is, that it was too difficult to catch the sound. It is represented as extremely harsh and guttural in its pronunciation and well suited to the people who speak it, who are described as wild and fierce. It is, so far as known, not related to any of the Mexican linguistic families.³

The only vocabulary of this language which Bancroft was able to find was added (without reference to the aboriginal source); it comprised the eleven words collected by Lavandera and discussed by Ramirez in 1850.⁴

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The Seri, with their allies, the Tepoca, Salinero, Guayma, and Upanguayma, were included by Bancroft in his arbitrarily defined "Northern Mexican family."⁵ The accompanying map (which is highly inaccurate) located the "Salineros" on the gulf coast, considerably north of the common embouchure of "R. de Horecasitas" and "Rio de Sonora", while the "Seri" were more conspicuously represented about the broad estuary into which the rivers embouch, and the "Tepocas" were located still farther southward on both Tiburón and the mainland, the island being placed too far southward and the river much too far northward.⁶ Numerous data relating to the Seri were incorporated in his text; all were second-hand, though many were taken from unique or rare manuscripts. The coastwise natives of Sonora were said to "live on pulverized rush and straw, with fish caught at sea or in artificial enclosures"; mention was made of the allegation that "the Sal-

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¹ Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine, rédigé d'après les Documents imprimés et Manuscrits les plus authentiques et précédé d'une Introduction; Paris 1851, p. xviii.

² Tableau de la Distribution Géographique des Nations et des Langues du Mexique. Congrès International des Américanistes, Comptes-rendus de la Seconde Session, tome II, 1878, p. 27.

³ The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. III (The Native Races, vol. II, 1881, p. 704). The "and" in this question is obviously a misprint for "west."

⁴ Ibid., p. 723.

⁵ Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 621-622.

⁶ Ibid., p. 677.

1175 Naturally the surveyors came into contact with the Seri tribesmen. Of them Commander Dewey wrote:

[501] During the greater part of the year Tiburon Island is resorted to by the Seris (or Cerve) tribe of Indians, who inhabit the adjacent mainland, and their huts and encampments may be seen in many places along the shore, principally on the eastern side of the island. They are reputed to be exceedingly hostile and to use poisoned arrows in opposing the landing of strangers on what they consider their domain, but during the stay of the *Narragansett* in the vicinity they were very friendly. At first they were shy and made threatening gestures, but soon finding that our intentions were peaceable, became friendly and returned our visits to the shore by frequent and lengthy calls on board ship. They are very expert in hunting with the bow and arrow and in catching fish and turtles, which abound in the surrounding waters. The canoes of these Indians deserve especial mention. They are made of long reeds, which are bound together with strings after the manner of fascines, three of which when fastened together . . . have sufficient buoyancy to support one or two persons. They kneel in these canoes when paddling, the water being at the same level in the canoe as outside of it.¹

114 1175 Illustrations of the "Tiburon canoe" (or balsa), drawn by H. Von Bayer, were also introduced.² In addition Mr Von Bayer succeeded in obtaining two photographs of Seri Indians, taken on shipboard; one of these is of special interest in that it illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Seri archer in the act of using his weapon.³

Unfortunately the surveys were confined to the coast, and the interior remained unmeasured and unmapped save on the basis of tradition and travelers' tales, supplemented by a few vague itineraries and traverses. Except along the international boundary and the railway (Ferrocarril de Sonora), the locations of pueblos and ranchos remained guesses, the delineation of mountains remained a work of imagination, and even the best cartographers continued to run in rivers at random or in such wise as to afford artistic effect.⁴

In 1879 M Alphonse L. Pinart traveled extensively in northern Mexico and southwestern United States, and made considerable linguistic collections among various tribes. Desiring to obtain a Seri vocabulary, he planned a visit to the tribal territory; but on reaching Caborca in March he was met by the information that the Seri were on the warpath, and had recently devastated a hacienda on their frontier and slain more than a dozen white settlers.⁵ Thence he repaired

[113] ¹Publication No. 24, U. S. Hydrographic Office, Bureau of Navigation. The West Coast of Mexico, from the Boundary Line between the United States and Mexico to Cape Corrientes, including the Gulf of California (revised edition), 1890, p. 143.

²Ibid., pl. xv, p. 126 (one of these illustrations is reproduced in figure 20).

³The negatives of these pictures were retained by Mr Von Bayer, and have been kindly turned over to the Bureau of American Ethnology. Unfortunately the archery negative had been shattered, but enough of the fragments were preserved to show all essential details and to afford a basis for the drawing reproduced in plate XXX.

⁴The impending official map of 1890, titled *Carta General de la Republica Mexicana*, formada en el Ministerio de Fomento con los datos mas recientes, por disposicion del Secretario del ramo, General Carlos Pacheco, engraved and printed by Erhard Hartmann, Paris, on a scale of about 50 miles to the inch, represents Rio Sonora as about the right length and with its center in about the right location, but as running at almost exactly right angles to its actual course; and it contains diverse other equally startling errors.

⁵Recorded by Gutschat, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin, Band XV, 1901, p. 126. The location of the hacienda was not specified, but there are local traditions of Seri raids about that time, both at Hacienda Berco (between Caborca and Libertad anchorage and at Sonosilla).

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THE PINART VOCABULARY—1879

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to Pueblo Seri, and early in April obtained there a Seri-Spanish vocabulary of several hundred words, with a number of short phrases throwing some light on the grammatic construction. This record was transmitted to Dr Albert S. Gatschet. It comprises a title page inscribed "Vocabulario de la lengua Séri | Interpreté el Gl. de los Séri | y otro Indio. | Pueblo de Séri | 4 Abril 1879"; four foolscap sheets (written on both sides, thus making 16 pages) of vocabulary; and a final page bearing two short phrases and inscribed "Los Séri, me dice el general de ellos, son como doscientos hombres de llevar armas—viven todavía parte en la isla de Tiburón, parte en la costa. Pueblo de Séri, 4 Abril, 1879, Alph. Pinart." A transcript of this invaluable vocabulary is preserved in the Bureau of American Ethnology. There is nothing either in the original vocabulary or in the known correspondence relating to it to identify the aboriginal informant, but the identification is made easy through the coincident testimony of living witnesses and the unmistakable implication of the historical records to the effect that there was at that time but a single Seri Indian¹ resident at Pueblo Seri—i. e., the official interpreter, "El General" Kolusio. This identification is strengthened by the remarkable similarity between this vocabulary and that of Bartlett, a similarity made the more striking by the fact that one was recorded in English, the other in Spanish; the identification is supported, too, by Kolusio's memory of "giving his language" to a stranger "not a Mexicano" yet familiar with the Spanish; and the identification is practically established by the considerable number of terms expressing concepts alien to the Seri (e. g., ax, adobe, house, horse, bog, field, irrigate, pigeon, thresh, tobacco, shirt, the names of the months, etc), evidently acquired through long and intimate acquaintance with Mexican customs and domiciles and modes of thought—for all these concepts were familiar enough to Kolusio, yet to no other known Seri Indian of recent decades. Accordingly it may be deemed practically certain that M Pinart's vocabulary, like that of Commissioner Bartlett, was obtained from Kolusio; and it is at least strongly probable that both the Lavandera-Ramirez and the Tenechio-Pimentel vocabularies were derived from the same aboriginal source—an indubitably excellent source, save for the occasional interjection of alien notions, and the infrequent substitution of foreign equivalents for forgotten terms.

Barred from Seriland by the current war craze, M Pinart was prevented from obtaining much collateral information concerning the Seri; but he concluded (on grounds not stated) that "the Tepoca spoken on [197]

¹ "The Séri, the chief tells me, comprise about 300 men fit to bear arms—they still live part on the island of Tiburón, part on the coast."

² "M Pinart's reference to his interpreter as not only impersonal but, *antigüo*.—Interpreted by the chief of the Seri and another Indian" might be considered to imply two Seri Indians, though it may, with equal linguistic probability, be interpreted to mean the specified Seri and another Indian; and while the temporary presence of a second Seri at the pueblo seems possible, the sum of probabilities points so clearly the other way as to demand the latter interpretation.

the south of Rio del Altar is identical with the Seri¹, and also that "the Guaymas were of the stock of the southern Pimas, or Nebomas".²

While M. Pinart failed to publish, his linguistic collections were compared, systematized, and made public by Dr. Albert S. Gatschet in a notable memoir on "Der Yuma-Sprachstamm", 1883. Comparing the Seri, as represented by the Pinart and Bartlett and Pimentel vocabularies, with the Yavapai, M'Mat, and incidentally with the Kouino, Tonto, Cochimi, and other tongues, Dr. Gatschet was led to adopt the suggestion of Professor Wilhelm Herzog³ that the Seri is a dialect of the Yuman stock. In the comparative vocabulary, which comprises about a hundred and forty Seri words (selected from the 611 terms in the Pinart collection), there are perhaps a dozen terms presenting some similarity to those of one or more Yuman dialects; among these are terms for ax, tree, split, tobacco, heaven, pigeon, dog, and others of presumptively or certainly alien character.⁴

Herzog's suggested classification, with Gatschet's indorsement, was accepted even more promptly and widely than the earlier classifications of Pimentel and Orosco. It was tacitly adopted by Director J. W. Powell in his classic arrangement of Indian linguistic families of America north of Mexico;⁵ it was explicitly approved by Adolph F. Bandelier in his "Final Report of Investigations";⁶ and it was implicitly accepted and fortified by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton in his work on "The American Race".⁷ Brinton's Seri words were "chiefly from the satisfactory vocabulary obtained by the late John Russell Bartlett"; of the 21 terms, about 8 (including that for the alien concept "house") suggest affinity with the Yuman, chiefly in the Mohave dialect; the others are either wholly distinct or only superficially similar, e. g., in the concurrence of a consonant or two, or merely in the correspondence in number of syllables.⁸

Stated briefly, the scientific researches relating to Seriland and the Seri during the fifty years from the fourth decade of the century to the middle of the last decade resulted in (1) a satisfactory survey of the coast, (2) the collection of two excellent Seri vocabularies, with a few others of less extent, and (3) two discrepant linguistic classifications of the tribe, both widely quoted and accepted.

¹Gatschet, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the South-western United States*, part 1, in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American series, III, Cambridge, 1893, p. 76. As already noted, it is probable that the Guaymas lost their "antiqua lingua" (Remirez, *op. cit.*, p. 145) long before M. Pinart's visit; and pending definite statement of the facts on which his conclusions rest it is necessary to retain the classification based on specific and repeated, albeit unaided, observations of the identity of the Guayman speech with that of the Seri.

³In correspondence with Dr. Gatschet, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴Dr. Gatschet has recently revised the data and recognized the distinctness of the Seri tongue (*Science*, new series, vol. XX, 1905, p. 595-596).

⁵*Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883-84, Washington, 1887, p. 137.

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁷*The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America*, New York, 1891, p. 226.

⁸Mr. Hewitt's *Guayman* (pages, pp. 350-354) gives fuller details of this short vocabulary.

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648 ber of ill-advised prospecting parties, coming by land or water, paid the penalty of foolhardiness. Writing about 1864, Historian Velasco resorted to the Seri to say:

This handful of bandits, assassins, thieves, brutes (inhumanes), infinitely vile and cowardly, on February 23 last, on the Guaymas road, at the place called Huertasa, assassinated 4 unhappy women, including a girl of 9 years, and 7 men who were conducting them in a cart toward that port.

He bitterly denounced the apparent apathy of the state and federal authorities, adding:

When it is read in history fifty years hence that a handful of murderous Seris, certainly not more than 80 of the tribe able to bear arms, was able to dominate in the midst of their crimes with unexampled audacity on account of the debility of the government and the inhabitants, it will be regarded as a romance or a fable; for it seems impossible that in the nineteenth century such a condition of things could exist to degrade the reason, the morality, and the dignity of civilized man.

Yet a final note, apparently added in press, recorded that—

In consequence of the last incident of the Seris, the prefect of Guaymas, Don Cayetano Navarro, took the field, returning with 12 women and 16 children prisoners; also 2 striplings and a vaillardi. He slew 9 among those who had no leader. This was on Isla Tiburón. The Indians fled thence, and are supposed to be at Tepicose.

These may be considered as characteristic skirmishes attending the Ecuinas war. Other episodes followed, including the outbreaks of 1879, noted in part by M Pinart. Bacuachito suffered in various locally important events that will never be written: when Don Jesus Onada, a water guide to the expedition of 1895, was asked about the Seri at Bacuachito, he answered with cumulative vehemence, "They killed my father. They killed my brother! They killed my brother's wife!! They have killed half my friends!!!" As he spoke he was feverishly baring his breast; displaying a frightful scar over the clavicle, he exclaimed, "There struck a Seri arrow"; then he stripped his arm with a single sweep to reveal a ragged cicatrix extending nearly from shoulder to wrist, and added in a tone tremulous with pent bitterness, "The Seri have teeth!"

In the course of the half century from 1844 onward, the population of Sonora increased materially, and carried more than a proportionate increase in the development of agricultural and mineral resources; and, especially under the beneficent Diaz regime, the state passed from the condition of a remote frontier province into that of a well-governed commonwealth. Naturally this progress carried the Caucasian element, including that of blended blood, farther and farther away from the nonprogressive Seri; and thereby the horror and detestation awakened by the very utterance of the name of the lowly tribe were intensified beyond description or ready understanding. The traditions of arrow poisoning were kept alive, and, doubtless, growing; the recitals of ear-rion eating were repeated, and possibly—just possibly—magnified beyond the reality; the accounts of offense and defense by nails and

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THE PORTER-JOHNSON EPISODE—1898

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point at which he had stopped; the other was a German naturalist-pro prospector with two *mozos* (servant-companions), purporting to hail from Chihuahua, who started across the delta-plain of Rio Buenauche and Desierto Encinas with saddle animals, and never reappeared. 648

Then came the second expedition of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to which several Papago domiciled at Costa Rica were attached as guards. While the party were at the rancho the day before the first entrada into Seriland via Barranca Salina, a party of *vaqueros* from Rancho Santa Ana tented a herd of stock to the barranca for water; one of the animals strayed behind a dune, and the *vaqueros*, following its trail, came on a small band of Seri already devouring the entrails, and attacked them so vigorously that they escaped only by outrunning the horses, leaving behind all their unattached possessions, including a bow and quiver of arrows and an ancient and nonusable army rifle. This incident, albeit typical, was untimely, and doubtless aided in rendering the Indians too wild to permit communication with the aliens during the ensuing weeks spent in their territory. 123 648

After the withdrawal of this expedition the Seri resumed their range over the borderland plain, with the evident intention of avenging the insult of the invasion. There were a number of skirmishes, in which some of the Papago guards of the 1895 expedition were wounded and had horses killed under them, though they did customary execution on the worse-armed Seri; and extensively published press items indicate that, toward the end of January, 1896, a party of five gold prospectors landed on Tiburon, whence one escaped. 648 721

A well-attested episode ensued toward the end of 1896: Captain George Porter and Sailor John Johnson spent the later part of the summer in cruising the coasts of the Gulf, collecting shells, feathers, and other curios in the small sloop *World*. About the end of October they apparently anchored in Rada Ballena; and a day or two later Captain Martin Mendez, of Guaymas, in charge of the schooner *Osita*, being driven up the gulf and into Bahia Kunkuk by storms, came on a horde of Seri looting Porter's vessel. The episode received publicity on Mendez's return to Guaymas; United States Consular Agent Crocker instituted inquiries, and Governor Corral sent a force to Costa Rica, where, after some delay, a parley was held with a strong band of Seri under the chiefship of "a seven-foot warrior named El Mudo (The Mute), . . . so called for his reticence of speech."¹ The testimony obtained at the parley and from Captain Mendez indicates that Porter and Johnson landed, or at least approached the shore, probably in a small boat; that they were met by a shower of arrows, under which Johnson immediately fell, while Porter defended himself with a shot. 648

¹San Francisco Chronicle, October 18, 1896, p. 2. The details of the episode, including the correspondence of Consular Agent Crocker, were printed in the newspapers of San Diego (the place of residence of Porter and Johnson), as well as in those of San Francisco and other cities; and there was considerable correspondence concerning the matter with the State Department at Washington. Some reports recount that the bodies of Porter and Johnson were sent to fragments and devoured, but these details naturally lack confirmation. . . El Mudo's portrait appears in plate XIX. [113] ●

648 gun, slaying five of the Seri before he was himself transfixed; that the vessel was then looted, and that Mendez and his crew were prevented from landing and apparently driven off by the Seri force. In the course of the parley the state officials "demanded the surrender of the ring-leaders in the massacre", with the alternative of "regarding the whole tribe as guilty and punishing them accordingly"; but El Mudo, evidently holding the invasion of the island as the initial transgression and deeming the loss of the tribe under Porter's marksmanship as more than commensurate with the Caucasian loss, peremptorily ended the conference and returned to the island. Vigorous efforts were made to pursue the tribesmen beyond their practically impassable frontier, with the usual product of ruined horses and famished riders. Then the episode died away in an armed neutrality strained somewhat beyond the normal. Meantime the Papago guards remained at Costa Rica. "They are continuously on the lookout for these Seris, and once or twice have killed a stray one or two."¹

Both before and after the Porter-Johnson episode schemes were devised by various parties, chiefly Californians, for obtaining concessions covering Tibaron and its resources, most of these schemes involving plans for the extermination of the Seri; and press accounts indicate that a concession covering the islands of the gulf above the latitude of 29° (i. e., including about half of Isla Tibaron) was granted to an American company of much distinction. It would appear from numerous news items that representatives of the company sought to land on Tibaron, where they were first cajoled with offerings of food, afterward found to be poisonous, and later driven off by an enlarged force of naked archers. A recent publication bearing some official sanction announces that "Mr W. J. Lyons, of Hermosillo, Sonora, has secured a concession for the exploration of the island and in November of this year will fit out an expedition for that purpose."² The various movements are significant as indices of current opinion and official policy with respect to the tribe.

On the whole, the later episodes are natural sequels of the eventful and striking earlier history of the Seri; and they can only be interpreted as pointing to early extinction of one of the most strongly marked and distinctive of aboriginal tribes.

¹ The quotations are from the account of T. H. Gilmer, of San Diego, prepared on his return from a visit to Costa Rica.

² *El Estado de Sonora, Mexico. San Industria, Comercio, Minas y Manufacturas. Obras Publicadas bajo la Auspicio del Gobierno del Estado. Obras Ilustradas, Octubre de 1907. By J. R. Southworth, Nogales, p. 73.*

farm, but because they have secondarily specialized their culture away from the old Seri-Walapai substratum. 171

The Baja Californians must be reckoned as having participated in the same basal, low-level, desert culture, though of course, like every other people, with certain variants and developments of their own. That we can name fewer Seri traits in their culture than in that of the preceding groups, is probably due to the less store of our knowledge of them. More significant of relationship is the smallness of the number of Seri traits which they are known to lack. It is entirely possible that if there existed adequate information for both sides of the Gulf, Seri and Cochimi similarity would prove to be the closest of all. But at present this possibility cannot be either conclusively proved or disproved.

Seri similarities with southern and even central California are fairly numerous, and can be attributed partly to the common non-agricultural subsistence, which would tend to induce the adoption or retention of similar cultural traits. On the other hand, the basic farming life of the Opata, Mayo, and north Sinaloan peoples must have operated at many points in the opposite direction in spite of their geographical nearness. Pueblo culture is so highly specialized that its mass would expectably show little kinship to Seri, and such is the trend of the available comparative data.

The Seri thus relate culturally to other peoples much as might be anticipated from their geographical position and subsistence opportunities. The Seri problem consequently has to be removed from the category of those which hold out a hope or illusion of being particularly significant for the solution of basic questions or broad hypotheses. It is essentially a problem of specific local ethnography, with wider significances revealable only by impartial comparative studies; but of special interest because of the relatively well-preserved status of parts of old Seri culture and the human appeal of three centuries of outlaw history. The thorough study of this culture will involve much grinding physical hardship and possibly some danger. It is to be hoped that when the work is undertaken, it will not be in a spirit of personal adventure, with emphasis on the external difficulties to be overcome, but with a serious desire and competence to secure facts and understanding. 121

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AA—American Anthropologist.
 AMNH-AP—American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers.
 BAE-B—Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
 BAE-R—Bureau of American Ethnology, Reports.
 JAPL—Journal of American Folk-Lore.
 UC-PAAR—University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. 113
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ethnologist in the field, and, used as a guide, the example can be applied to any behavior in which matter is changed. More investigations similar to that offered here are needed as the archeologist turns to interpretation, conceptualization, and synthesis, or to what Kroeber (1957: 193) has called "the larger and long-range movements or developments in global human culture." 121

NOTE

1. I hope it is not too presumptuous to dedicate this paper to the memory of A. L. Kroeber. 000

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Shaman's Cache from Southern California. Figure 127: The Cache of Steatite Tubes in Place a photograph of them. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 315 and 319, 1927.

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so named must be of the same sex as the first. The significance of land ownership needs further investigation. 000

Many of the Seri still prefer, when possible, to live in their chosen band area. Sometimes a person, when he is approaching death, will ask to be taken to his own *i?iziit*, where he can die and be buried in the area of his choice. 361
642
621
763

NOTES

1. Due to printing limitations, stress on Seri words has been omitted, and several orthographic symbol changes have been made for this paper. The phonetic values of the symbols used are the following: p is voiceless labial stop; t is vl. dental stop; k is vl. velar stop; ʔ is glottal stop; f is vl. labial flat spirant; w is vl. labial grooved-rounded spirant; s is vl. alveolar spirant; z is vl. alveo-palatal spirant; l is vl. lateral spirant; h is vl. velar spirant; x is vl. back velar spirant; m is labial nasal; n is dental nasal; ŋ is velar nasal; y is palatal semivowel; i is a high close front vowel; e is a low close front vowel; a is a low open central vowel; o is a mid close back vowel. 128
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2. These data were compiled during field trips to the Seri camps during the years 1956-61, the studies being carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The principal informant was R. Herrera T. whose information was checked with and supplemented by nine of the older members of the tribe. I am indebted to my colleague, David Thomas, who read an earlier draft of this paper and made helpful suggestions. 114
115
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124

3. 1) W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report, No. 17, Part 1, Washington, 1898. 2) A. L. Kroeber, "The Seri," Southwest Museum Papers, No. 6, Los Angeles, 1931. 3) W. B. Griffen, "Notes on Seri Indian Culture, Sonora, Mexico," Latin American Monograph Series, No. 10, Gainesville, 1959. 113

4. It will be noted that between subdivision 3 and 4 on Fig. 3 there is an unnumbered area, the status of which is uncertain. 642
621
125

5. Kroeber states that McGee's concept of Seri maternal lineages crystallized into totemic clans with matron rule seem a fantasy. In Kroeber's opinion, "The Seri may never have had sibs or clans; but the fact that they appear to lack them now is no positive evidence that they were without them three centuries ago. Shifts of residence, contraction of territory, shrinkage of numbers, amalgamation of distinct bands, may well have obliterated much of such social fabric as they once possessed." 648
114
174

Griffen discusses the nature of the former Seri bands and states, "they may have been patrilineal and exogamous. The criteria . . . that Julian Steward has expounded for the formation of exogamous, patrilineal bands . . . are and presumably would have been met formerly in the Seri habitat." Griffen lists other aspects of this type of band which are also verified to some extent by his data. From reading his material, it is obvious that he suspects the existence of clans at some earlier period. He emphasizes the need for further investigation. [642]

6. G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1949. 113
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7. Marriages were usually contracted within the band.

8. As Kroeber points out, their memory likely covers only the latter part of the period of Spanish contacts. 123
648

9. The Seri recall nothing of Seri-Pima contacts and little of Seri-Apache relations. 021

10. The story is related that one day some Seri entered a cave where they found several Papago jugs filled with seeds. Being hungry, the people ate the seeds and left some arrows as token payment. The Seri say that the Papago apparently believed the arrows were intended as an insult. Fighting broke out soon afterward.

11. The Seri concept of the band annihilations is seen to be in contradiction to McGee's statement (p. 132): "Concordantly with their primary characteristic, the Seri have avoided ethnic and demotic union beyond the narrow limits of their own kindred; and even of these they seem to have cast out parts, annihilating the Guayma and Upanguayma, displacing and nearly destroying the Tepoka, and outlawing individuals and (apparently) small groups." 114
628
642
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Richard Felger, Department of Zoology, University of Arizona, for information concerning plants referred to in this article. H. Wesley Peirce of the Arizona Bureau of Mines identified the mineral material used in the pigment.

NOTES

1. The phonetic values of the symbols used are the following: t is voiceless dental stop; k is vl. velar stop; ʔ is glottal stop; W is vl. labial grooved-rounded spirant; s is vl. alveolar spirant; z is vl. alveo-palatal spirant; l is vl. lateral spirant; j is vl. velar spirant; x is vl. back velar spirant; m is labial nasal; n is dental nasal; i is a high close front vowel; e is a low close front vowel; a is a low open central vowel; o is a mid close back vowel.

2. The restriction as stated to me by various women pertains only to young girls below the age of menarche. Actually, however, none of the above-mentioned young men and women, most of them in their twenties, was allowed to observe.

3. Plant specimens are deposited in the Herbarium of The University of Arizona.

4. The blue "pencil" which McGee describes (McGee 1898: 166) and pictures (McGee 1898: Plate XXXVII facing p. 170) is apparently the same as kóil.

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